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AFTER the discouraging news and the tension of the past few months the Italian victory over the Austrians comes as an enormous relief. If the Italians had been defeated instead of victorious, the result both on the spirits of our Allies abroad and on the military prospects of the Allied armies would have been serious. But they have inflicted a costly and decisive check on the weak brother of the new Dual Alliance and even though the check does not immediately force the Austrian army to retire from any of the occupied districts in Italy, the consequences of defeat are likely none the less to be as serious for Germany and its ally as they would have been for Germany's opponents. The Italian nation has succeeded under difficult and disheartening conditions in making a wonderful recovery. Its government has converted an army discouraged by defeat and weakened by sedition into a fighting machine capable of resisting and throwing back one of the great offensives of the war, and what is equally important its military success is at least partly due to the increased political and moral strength of the Italian cause. In the fall Italy would have used victory for purposes which were injurious to legitimate south Slav national ambitions. The Slavs knew it, and they fought against Italy with a determination which they never showed against Russia. The Italian troops knew it too, and it afforded the Germans an opportunity for defeatist propaganda. But since the fall the Italians and the south Slavs have reached an agreement. The Austrian army is fighting for the purely aggressive programme of the eastern treaties, and the Italians are fighting for their own security and for the emancipation of the Slavs as well as for that of their own fellow nationals in the Trentino and Istria. This difference between them is a genuine cause of Austrian defeat.

IT remains to be seen how far the Austrian defeat will contribute to the political disintegration of the Dual Monarchy. All the news indicates that the disintegration is proceeding at an accelerated rate. Apparently Austria-Hungary is rapidly drifting into a condition of demoralization analogous to that of Russia immediately after the Revolution. It still has a government which can raise and maintain armies, but owing to the increasing insubordination of the Slavic peoples, it cannot govern by constitutional means and with the consent of the Reichsrat. Neither is it able to supply its people with food and the other essentials of mere subsistence. The whole Dual monarchy with the exception of the ruling class is by way of becoming a mere cesspool of hopeless misery and irreconcilable sedition. It is still bound together by fear, fear both of the German and of the Allied armies, but terror itself can scarcely keep it together throughout another winter. Even though the present food shortage is ameliorated by the harvesting of the new crop, the relief will only be temporary and the terror will not disappear. The political tissue which has formed the cohesive element in the Dual monarchy has been eaten away. Its people may remain huddled together for a while longer in panting and fearful groups, but they will

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soon be incapable of common action except as mobs or as droves of sheep.

THE mad military and political gamble which the German government began at Brest-Litovsk will, we are beginning to hope and believe, prove specifically to be its undoing. The Ukrainian peace has not produced the tons of food about which Count Czernin boasted so confidently last winter. Its combination with the Russian and Rumanian peaces is resulting in the very condition against which the eastern treaties were intended to protect the Dual Monarchy. In spite of the treaties and the buffer states, the Russian Revolution has succeeded in one way or another in exporting anarchy to its western neighbors. The manifest object of those treaties, the future subjugation of the whole Slavic population of Central Europe to German and Hungarian domination, has had its inevitable result upon those Slavic nationalities which were already suffering from this subjugation. It has aroused all their power of latent resistance. If the Germans are to dominate hereafter in Central Europe it will only be as a consequence of the ruthless application of military law. Of course the issue is still undecided. The German Staff have not as yet finished the political and military offensive in the west, which is intended to vindicate the eastern policy. But on the day when they fail in France, as the Austrians have failed in Italy, let them beware of the back fire which they themselves have kindled in the rear. With sufficient encouragement from Allied diplomacy this back fire may prove to be the conflagration which will consume that which is most dangerous and nefarious in the Prussian system.

TURKEY is beginning to ask Germany embarrassing questions about war aims. If the Bulgar is to be aggrandized in the Dobrudja and in Macedonia, what is the Turk to get? When Turkey entered the war, she was promised the restoration of her African empire. Egypt was to be wrested from England, Tripoli from Italy, and possibly Tunis from France. But Germany's memory for promises may not be long, and the Turks have good reason to fear that not only will those promises remain unfulfilled, but that Germany may recognize the conquest by the Allies of most of Mesopotamia, Arabia and Syria. If Germany is thus forgetful of the interest of her ally, the Turks would like to know it at once. They are suffering terribly. There may be hunger and other privations in Austria-Hungary and Germany, but nothing to compare with what Turkey is enduring. And if Turkey is after all to lose to the Allies all the territories they care to take away from her, what reason has she for remaining in the war? She is exchanging views with Bulgaria, who is also beginning to inquire why the war continues in spite of the amazing victories reported from Berlin. The questions will gain in intensity as the news of Austrian disaster trickles through to the Levant.

AMERICANS will heave a sigh of relief at the announcement of the practical abandonment by the British government of its plan to enforce conscription in Ireland, and to pay for the soldiers by an immediate measure of home rule. If that plan had been forced through regardless of all barriers and opposition, it would have worked an amount of injury to the cause of the anti-German alliance wholly disproportionate to any possible gain in fighting force. The opponents of conscription have always contended that the number of Englishmen needed to enforce conscription in Ireland would be larger than the number of Irishmen that would be recruited, and the abandonment of the project seems to justify the contention. In any event, conscription imposed as the result of rioting and bloodshed would have produced discontented soldiers and would have still further increased the already stupendous obstacles to an ultimately satisfactory solution of the Irish problem. It is only one more illustration of the futility for a democracy of a military policy which violates sound political principles and practices. We cannot be too thankful that more moderate courses have finally prevailed.

MANIFESTLY the abandonment of Irish conscription by the present government is a confession of a mistake so flagrant that under ordinary circumstances it would be followed by defeat or resignation. No such immediate penalty will be visited upon Lloyd George, because of the undesirability of a change in government until after the German military offensive has spent its force. But a change is inevitable some time during the next six or eight months. The government may appeal to the country before surrendering office, but it is doubtful whether even a nominal victory at the polls would enable the present Prime Minister to remain much longer in power. He has lost the confidence of too large a proportion of his fellow countrymen, both Liberals and Conservatives. In many respects he has served his country well, but he cannot escape the penalty of ill-success. He assumed office in the confident expectation that the new English army under his impulsive leadership would obtain a decisive victory over the Germans in France. But the British offensive, when it came, was only partially successful, and the British army is no longer the decisive element in the

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future defeat of Germany. This result may be nobody's fault. Yet there it is. Lloyd George has proved unequal to the job of being the Carnot of England's part in the great war.

ALL the considerations that led America to accept the selective draft as a method of raising armies argue for the extension of the draft ages to the limits of full physical efficiency. Between the ages of 31 and 45 there are vast numbers of men who are just as well qualified for military service as the younger men now subject to the draft. A greater proportion of this age group have dependents, or are performing essential services in their present employments, but this situation is satisfactorily cared for in the selective principles of the law. There are many hundreds of thousands of men above 31 who except for the accident of age would be placed in the first class of the draft. Since that class is now practically exhausted, justice demands that the age limit be raised rather than that we should proceed to draw from the later classes under the existing law.

WHAT is more important, an extension of the draft limits is a prerequisite to the effective application of the "work or fight" principle. Something has indeed been accomplished by the publication of lists of unessential industries, employment in which voids all claim to exemption from military service. Many thousands of the younger men have been driven out of them and presumably into essential industries. But the gain is small if men over 31 are allowed to take their places. If the "work or fight" order could be applied to all men between 21 and 45, or as some propose, between 18 and 45, there cannot be the least doubt that our essential industries would find abundant labor supplies. We should soon approximate the desired condition of industrial mobilization for war. This would mean more compulsion in industry than our workers contemplated at the time of our entry into the war, but so long as compulsion remained general as it is under the present law, no serious opposition would arise. Some advocates of the extension of the draft law are indeed urging it as a universal solvent for strikes on war work. This is to borrow trouble. Unless the law is so guarded that men subject to its provisions remain industrially free within the limits of the essential industries, it will be sure to check our industrial effort instead of advancing it.

IN a letter printed elsewhere in this issue, Mr. Sidney Webb appeals for financial assistance from Americans on behalf of the British Labor party. That party is now preparing for the general election which will take place in the United Kingdom soon after the German offensive is finally defeated. It has ahead of it an exceptionally difficult and expensive job, for which its resources are wholly inadequate, and it hopes to receive some assistance from sympathetic Americans. In spite of the demands made by the war on their own resources, American liberals have a reason to return a generous answer to this appeal. The programme and the work of the British Labor party possess an international significance. It was the first European political organization to declare explicitly in favor of President Wilson's war aims, and its plan of domestic reconstruction is the best formulation which has yet been made of a scientific radical ideal which seeks by methods of constitutional political agitation to bring into existence a new and better social order. If such an order is to be constructed as a result of political agitation, the work must be accomplished by a political party which represents not merely the class of manual laborers, but all the men and women in the community who want the reorganization of society determined by the purpose of stimulating and rewarding active social service. The British Labor party is the first organization in the history of democratic politics which meets their needs, and that is why it deserves American as well as British support.

Inter-Allied Unity

ACCORDING to recent newspaper reports America and her allies are considering a still further extension of centralized control over their war activities. After long hesitation and many misgivings they organized unity of direction in the supremely important matter of military operations. In the case of the scarcely less vital matter of shipping there is already sitting in London an inter-Allied board, which records and investigates the needs of the several Powers for marine transportation, places an estimate on their relative importance and recommends the allotment of the available ships to those services in which they will contribute most effectively to the success of the Allied armies. The proposal now is to set up additional boards which will deal with the allotment of the existing supply of the scarcer raw materials and the securing to the several members of the Alliance allowances of food and munitions sufficient to keep them at the top of their fighting form. Thus unity of economic control is following hard on the heels of unity of military command. Little by little the anti-German Alliance is developing into an operative and effective military partnership.

We have selected the phrase partnership ad-

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visedly and for the purpose of indicating the scope and the limits of this growing international administration. The Allies are not as yet bringing into existence an international bureaucracy. The inter-Allied boards will not, as we understand what is now being done, exercise executive powers. Even in the case of the supreme military command, General Foch is not supplied with an inter-Allied staff, which supersedes the staff of the separate armies. He can deliver orders which must be executed, but he must depend upon the American, the British or the Italian staffs for the carrying out of his orders. The centralized economic control will have no Foch at its head. It will consist of statistical, investigating and consultative boards, which after full consideration of all the facts will make what should be unanimous recommendations to their several governments. If any one of these governments should object to the recommendations and should refuse or delay to act on them, the central administration would, of course, have no power of compulsion. The success of the plan depends upon the good faith of the several governments and their willingness to adjust their own demands and sacrifices to a well considered view of the needs of the common cause. In this economic region centralized administration is only another name for a large amount of voluntary cooperation, based on a careful and disinterested investigation into the best means of making that cooperation effective.

Manifestly, however, such cooperation, if it is to be effective, cannot be confined to the military and economic transactions of the Alliance. It must include, also, their common political affairs. We would like to see constituted an inter-Allied board of political strategy which would work out a common political policy for the anti-German Alliance, just as Foch is working out a common military policy, and as a step in this direction we would like to see the American government dispatch a diplomatic agent to Europe, who would be accredited to the concert of the Allied powers rather than to France or Great Britain. His business would be that of representing America in the joint political councils of the anti-German Alliance. Unless some such additional representation is contrived, the partnership of the American nation with its European associates will be deprived of one useful agency of adjustment and one essential prerequisite of complete success.

The President has hitherto preserved a scrupulous diplomatic and political independence for what were in the beginning good and sufficient reasons. When America entered the war, her European associates were bound together by treaties to which the American government could not consent, partly because they were secret and partly because they ignored the principles on behalf of which the President had urged his countrymen to fight. America was bound to maintain a large measure of diplomatic isolation as long as the war aims of the European Powers were defined by these agreements. But such is no longer the case. One by one these treaties have either lapsed or have been so modified by events as to be scarcely recognizable. The way has been cleared for the working out of a joint diplomatic and political policy. In consenting to participate in this work America would still preserve her ultimate independence of action. She could still dissent from any policy, recommended to the several governments, in case the policy proposed appeared to Americans to violate her declared principles. But she would not dissent until she had done her best as a loyal partner to work out a common political strategy, planned both to defeat Germany and to put into practice the political principles which give moral and political vitality to the anti-German Alliance.

American diplomatic isolation is becoming an actual impediment to the increasing influence of the political principles which in the beginning it was intended to safeguard. The way in which some well informed Englishmen regard it and its consequences is very well expressed in a private letter recently received from that country. "Now is the time to retrace our steps [the steps towards annexationist imperialism taken in the secret treaties]. The agreement with the Austrian subject nationalities at Rome shows how hard we are working to that end. But it is only by the active cooperation of America with ourselves that the separate commitments of the last few years can be wiped out. At the present time England is doing all the work and America is doing all the talking. I do not say this in any sarcastic vein. It is the simple fact. If you or we are to escape the existing and coming demands for territories, special advantages or what not out of this war, we must get together on a common policy and *act* together. I can lay my hand on my heart and say there is no shadow of a doubt that neither government nor people here have any other idea than to effect a settlement on the basis of a free society of states undisturbed by territorial or economic ambitions. But this means *at this moment* active international negotiations. How long will Achilles sit in his tent afraid of entanglements?"

Achilles undoubtedly has a weakness for sitting in his tent and steering clear of entanglements, but as things are now turning out, he will, if he continues to sit in his tent, run into entanglements rather than steer clear of them. If America and her allies are to win this war, there can be no doubt

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about the need, the early and drastic need, of supplementing a common military and economic strategy with a common political strategy. The American Government needs a man at the council table in London and Paris, a man who enjoys the full confidence of the President, who understands the meaning and consequences of his political principles, and who will be provided with a large expert office and staff. What is even more desirable would be a formal inter-Allied conference, called expressly for the purpose of agreeing upon a joint statement of war aims and a joint diplomatic policy. Such a conference has already been proposed by a labor member of the British cabinet. It would be a wise step for the American government to take it over and invite its allies to send to Washington special representatives to a gathering of this kind. If an agreement on fundamentals could be reached at a full and formal conference, specific negotiations about concrete problems and consequences, which would be subsequently taken up in London and Paris, would be enormously facilitated.

A conference of this kind, if it resulted in a common statement of aims and a board of political strategy to carry them out, would provide the one effective and enduring consummation of an anti-German partnership. Unity of military command and the several boards of economic control are all war measures, and are undertaken exclusively for the purpose of defeating the German armies. But besides defeating the German armies a partnership of democracies is equally bound to defeat the political aggression of the German government. This war is being fought out in the minds of the civilian population both in belligerent and neutral countries no less than on the battlefield, and whenever a peace conference comes, it will be fought with no less intensity over the council table. Germany, whether defeated or not, will always be in a position to take advantage of the existence of divergent aims and separatist economic and territorial ambitions among the Allies. She will always be in a position to play off one separate national interest against another just as Talleyrand did for France at the Council of Vienna. If, consequently, the political fruits of military victory are ever to be gathered, it is indispensable for the Allies to reach a better understanding of the nature of these fruits and to proclaim that understanding to the world. By so doing they will in effect be changing the nature of their partnership from one which in political matters covered only the fruits of victory into an actual instrument of victory. Their best chance of defeating Prussianism both in Germany and elsewhere in the world is to adopt as the basic principles of the anti-German alliance the League of Nations and the Golden Rule.

"Watchful Waiting" in Russia

IT is natural that the American branch of the international imperialist tribe should now be muttering among themselves that President Wilson's policy toward Russia is the same "watchful waiting" that cheated them of their Mexican prey. American imperialism has never forgiven President Wilson for missing the opportunity to make a virtual dependency out of Mexico. And the nearer Mexico approaches to a tolerable state of order, the greater the bitterness over the lost opportunity. But the American majority are not at present grieving because we do not have the task of policing Mexico superadded to our other international cares, or our moral position compromised by fresh memories of what to all the rest of the world would have counted as a conventional act of imperialistic aggression. Most of us, if we are willing to pay the price of frankness, are ready to place "watchful waiting" in Mexico in that considerable and growing category of policies in which President Wilson's judgment was more clairvoyant than our own. Accordingly the revival of the phrase in the matter of Russia does not look promising as a propagandist device. We did better in leaving Mexico to settle her own affairs. If the analogy holds, we shall do better in leaving Russia to her own devices.

Analogies in politics seldom hold, however, and the dissimilarities between the Russian and the Mexican problems are as great as can be expected to obtain even between those most discrepant of phenomena, revolutions. In Mexico, at the time when President Wilson took office, the balance of forces was so nearly even that American sympathy with one party or the other was likely to be conclusive. With recognition, the Huerta government might have survived; without recognition it was foredoomed to fall. There is nothing similar to this balance of forces in Russia. The Soviet government would not be materially strengthened by formal recognition nor weakened if America and all the Allies were to announce that Russia would count with them as a nullity until the Soviets were overthrown. All over Russia there are individuals and parties that hate the Soviet organization more fervently than they hate even the Prussians and the Turks. They are a minority; how insignificant is indicated by the successive fiascos of the Dukhonin, Kornilov, Savinkov, Kaledin, Alexeiev, Cherbachev and Semenov movements. If a mere nucleus of resistance had been sufficient to rally significant anti-Soviet forces, events would have moved rapidly with the mutiny of Czecho-Slovak soldiers in Siberia. Here were forty thousand men, well trained, possessed of

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arms, largely subject to execution if surrendered to Austria and therefore to be counted on to resist the Germans to the death. They were by blood and speech and temperament closely akin to the Russian people, and could not possibly be accused of any imperialistic designs against Russian soil. Was it not then fairly to be expected that the Czecho-Slovak standard of revolt would draw together the tens of thousands of Russians in Siberia who were said to be eager for a renewal of the war against Germany? Was it not to be expected that a powerful force would thus be formed and proceed irresistibly westward, to break over the Urals and sweep away the Soviet organization? But what do we find? The Czecho-Slovaks are moving eastward toward Vladivostok, where 20,000 of them are said to be congregated, awaiting transportation to the western front. They want to fight the Germans. Why do they seek to circumnavigate the globe instead of proceeding through Russia? Because the obstacles they would encounter in Russia are vastly greater than could be inferred from the convenient calculations of the interventionists.

There is one further consideration that must be taken into account if we desire to gauge the actual power of the anti-Soviet forces. This is the failure of Germany to lend aid to them. In the Ukraine, in Finland, in the Baltic provinces, Germany has given effective backing to the anti-Soviet parties. She is identified with conservatism and traditional law and order, in those sections of the former Russian empire. She has repressed attempts to establish the Soviet organization in the Ukraine, in one encounter killing ten thousand Red Guards. Is it credible that the opponents of the Soviet in Great Russia would reject German aid? The Great Russian property owner and intellectual, like his fellows in the border states, regards the Soviets, whether or not under Bolshevist control, as a calamity more intolerable than German dominance. Is it credible that the Germans would refuse to lend aid, if there were a chance that it would bear fruit? The inference is clear. There is no anti-Soviet force in Russia capable of holding power even if supported as liberally as Germany could afford to support it. The Allies might indeed be able to provide numerically stronger forces to support an anti-Soviet uprising. But the Germans have the tremendous advantage of the shorter line. What they find impracticable would be likely to prove a desperate gamble for us.

What is this Soviet power, against which the conservative and moderate parties appear unable to make head, even with their ability and willingness to call in German support? If it were a conventional partisan government it would doubtless have gone down months ago. If it were an organ of personal control, an emanation of the dreams of a Lenin or a Trotzky—as many of our sapient critics of Russian affairs affirm—it could not have withstood the shock of Brest-Litovsk, to say nothing of the terrible pressure of local famines. The Soviet power is an extreme instance of decentralization. There is no formal limitation upon the power of the local Soviets or committees of soldiers, peasants and workmen. Each hamlet, each city district, is a law unto itself, so far as the greater number of governmental functions are concerned. The All Russian Assembly of Soviet Delegates does indeed exercise a nominal control of common interests. But if this Assembly disappeared there would not necessarily be a radical change in Russian affairs. The local Soviets would continue to manage their business, distributing confiscated lands among their members, prosecuting alleged enemies, making such plans as they could devise for providing necessaries, raising men and supplying arms to repel anti-Soviet intrusions. Such a government, it may be said, would be quite incompetent to meet the requirements of a modern industrial state. Very true, but Russia is no more a modern industrial state than were the seventeenth century British settlements in New England. The town councils of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth were virtually Soviets feeling no need of central organization. Against the French and the Indians they were ready to cooperate, as the Russian Soviets are ready to cooperate against a common enemy, German or Allied.

In the early part of President Wilson's first administration the Realpolitiker was loud in his demands for the recognition of Huerta. "Common sense requires us to do business with whatever power happens to control a country. If Huerta were the Devil incarnate, we ought to do business with him if he is in control." Well, the Soviets are in control of Russia. Ought we to do business with them? No, says the Realpolitiker, but with the elements not in control. Why? Because we do not like the Soviet principles.

For the honest Realpolitiker the position is an illogical one. If the Soviet power is real, what have we to do with its principles? But we who are not Realpolitiker may well pause before according formal recognition to the Soviet government. What most of us are hoping for in Russia is a democratic government, capable of maintaining order at home and protecting Russian interests against foreign attack. We do not see such a government in the Soviet power as constituted at present. The exclusion of the formerly propertied class and the intellectuals is as much a violation of democratic principles as the exclusion of the non-

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propertied class in colonial New England. Moreover, we believe that a higher degree of centralization will be required before Russia can be either orderly or prosperous. We shall not look with confidence upon the Russian political system until it has undergone further evolution, either through the admission of the elements excluded or through riper experience in governing. So far as formal political recognition goes, delay appears to be imperative. "Watchful waiting" is our only practical policy.

Does this mean that we must content ourselves with the "watchful waiting" policy alone? No; we can, after a fashion, do business with the Soviet power. We can recognize the Russian people, consult their needs, proffer assistance and by title of assistance seek to influence the evolution of the Russian political system. There is no obstacle today in the way of our sending to Russia commissioners to form whatever political relations may be prerequisite to economic assistance. There are no insuperable difficulties to be surmounted in securing the cooperation of the Soviets in an honest American endeavor to organize Russian economic life. Months ago the Soviet government informally proposed such an arrangement with America. They were ready to entrust their economic resources to American management. But if we could not undertake the task, we were warned they would of necessity turn to Germany. And now we are beginning to receive reports that indicate that the Soviet government is at last turning to Germany for the economic assistance we have been too short-sighted to give. Still, it is probably not yet too late, if we and our allies can make up our minds to abandon the fantastic project of striking at Berlin through Vladivostok and to adapt our Russian policies to the present need.

Germany, to be sure, would be restive under any deliberate effort of America and her allies to aid Russia in finding her bearings, in rehabilitating her economic life. Russian disorder is a vested German interest, for the present. What the Germans most desire is that the decentralized but tenacious Soviet order may disintegrate into anarchy, pure and simple. If Allied influence were working toward increasing the cohesiveness of the Soviet system, Germany would doubtless resort to threats. Vainly, however, for the Russians know that no matter how irresistible the Germans believe themselves to be, they dare not sink themselves deep into the territories of Great Russia. Not by conquest, but by accepted cooperation can Germany make Russia her own, and this only in case the Allies utterly neglect their opportunities in Russia or compromise themselves with an abortive counter-revolution.

A Federal Government for Great Britain

IT is a circumstance of decided suggestiveness that at a time when American federalism seems, to not a few of those who have most closely watched its operation, in serious danger of eclipse, its favor upon the continent of Europe should rapidly grow. Nor is the reason difficult to understand. If German federalism is rather magni nominis umbra than the idea in its true form, the three great English-speaking communities that have embarked upon the federal adventure have been preeminently successful in its operation. In France the Napoleonic centralization has clearly reached its apogee; and some form of decentralization, whether provincial, as in the ardent vision of M. Charles Brun, or economic, as in the cautious prophecies of M. Paul Boncour, is rapidly becoming inevitable.

In England, there are many reasons why the idea of a federal system should find enthusiastic advocates. To begin with, the suggestion is far from new. More than thirty years ago, the late Mr. Chamberlain believed that it would solve the increasing burdens of a state that had abandoned the principles of laissez-faire; and that has given a certain dignity to the proposal which might otherwise be wanting. Nor is it without its attractiveness to those who fear the conference of semi-sovereign powers upon a national Irish legislature; for a federal system would then permit the reservation of exactly those powers in the use of which an element of danger has been detected. Municipal reformers, convinced of the value of local experiment upon the one hand, and not unnaturally distrustful of the growing bureaucratization of Whitehall upon the other, see in a federalization the means of escape from the growing despotism of the Local Government Board. Parliamentary reformers have a source of adherence more apt than any other. They can point with a large degree of truth to the excessive volume of business under which the House of Commons is bowed. They can insist that a large measure of federalism will, by increasing the time for, and therefore the reality of, discussion, undo the tyranny of parties on the one hand and the regrettable encroachments of the cabinet on the other. A federal solution, moreover, is not without its special appeal to those advocates of guild-socialism, a rapidly growing band, whose purpose is to redintegrate man in society by the multiplication of centres of power.

That there is a profound truth in these various attitudes it is certainly impossible to deny; though some of them, at least, are more facile in appearance than in fact. "Home Rule all round,"

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for example, does not touch the root of the Irish question; for there have been several occasions when a system of devolution could have been had by consent and when it has been as unhesitatingly rejected. For the Irish question is essentially a problem in nationality, and it has now become obvious that nothing less than the status of Australia or Canada will be satisfactory to the Irish people. But that is to say that a control over exactly those services must be granted which, in a federal solution, it is proposed to reserve. No one who considers the vastness of the questions raised by what is too vaguely termed reconstruction can for one moment suppose that the burden upon the House of Commons is likely in the next decade to be less than it has been in the past, and the very magnitude of its issues is likely to draw far more closely the bonds of party discipline as it is certain, by throwing the emphasis of importance upon administration, to throw the cabinet into increasing prominence. So long, moreover, as the root of British local government is the admirable system of grants in aid, the supervision of the central administrative departments must be in some large measure retained; for the really admirable feature of that system has been an elasticity based upon performance, and that involves an examination by central authority of what has been achieved.

It is probable, therefore, that the advocates of an English federalism lay far too much stress upon the ease with which it fits the peculiar situation it is intended to assist. Yet the retention of a certain scepticism is not incompatible with a belief that in some sort of federal idea there lies the key to many of the administrative problems by which England is confronted. Certainly far more is to be made of municipal and county councils in England than has thus far been admitted by the central government. Not the least admirable feature of Mr. Fisher's educational reconstruction is its eager effort to stimulate a renewal of local interest by the increase of parliamentary subvention. But that, after all, is only a special emphasis upon an already existing practice. What is needed is the extension of grants in aid so that to every problem of social importance to which a geographical character is in any sort annexed, the local authority is offered encouragement to special exertions. One of the great failures, for example, in English local life has been the rural parish council; when one thinks of the new significance that attaches to English agriculture, the possibilities here are manifold. So, too, in urban housing and urban sanitation. Mr. Disraeli's great code of 1875 was a magnificent effort for its time; but the greater number of local authorities are too poor to grapple in any efficient way with the problems of health that they confront. In the problems of roads, of unemployment, of the poor law, there are still unexplored avenues of immense fruitfulness. Before the beneficent possibilities of the present system are cast aside, the real connection they have with the inner meaning of federalism deserves a more full investigation.

It is rather in another direction that the possibilities of this movement are to be found. The most suggestive experiment in England today is that which points towards the representative government of industry. We have too little realized the need for giving administrative expression to the producer's point of view. We have too little admitted the real disharmony of interest that exists between the citizen as producer and the citizen as consumer. The latter, undeniably, raises, for the most part, questions that are very largely geographical in character and it is to their geographical solution that the energies of the modern state have been mainly bent. But the problems of the producer are functional problems. The interest of the engineer in Glasgow is not in reality distinct from the interest of the machinist in Pittsburgh. It is not in the least clear why that interest should not be organized and used as a definite branch of government. The result of our failure to utilize it has been to cast burdens upon the House of Commons which, from the nature of things, it is unfitted to bear. In the coal strike of 1911, for example, members approached the questions involved largely from the point of view of men who were interested in an uninterrupted flow of production, and partly, at least, under the quasi-intimidation of mineowners' representatives. Government pretended to an impartiality which it could not, in the situation, possess. A joint representative council could have come nearer an effective agreement. There is no need, there is certainly at present no possibility, of depriving the House of Commons of the power finally to pass upon industrial questions. But it is worth while to bear in mind that the existence of non-sovereign deliberative bodies, charged, each of them, with the concerns of some great industry or group of industries, is likely to work immense good. It would make politically articulate vast bodies of men who are today only heard from at the accidental coming of election-time. It would make them heard upon precisely those questions upon which they have the best right to speak. It would give to their solutions an authority they could not otherwise possess. It would ensure a healthy rivalry between trade groups for the possession of industrial standards the value of which would be incomparable. It would leave the House of Commons free to de-

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cide upon industrial questions only after they had been adequately passed upon by the most relevant expert opinion. It would give to the House a singular position of authority in its consumers' aspect. It is for reasons such as these that the Whitley report seems to possess so unique an administrative promise.

Americans have a special interest in these questions. America is the classic home of federalism. It is yet a singular fact that in the eighty years that have elapsed since the publication of de Tocqueville's famous treatise no great work on federalism has appeared; for M. Lefur's admirable book is classical only in the sense that it is practically unprocurable and consequently but seldom read. We have clearly reached a crisis in the history of representative government. Its present categories were admirable so long as its problems were simple and negative in character. When there were obvious freedoms, religious toleration, universal suffrage, free and compulsory education, to be won, representative government was a magnificent weapon in the hands of democracy. It meant majority rule; and the ease of its conquests ought not to blind us to their magnificence. But today our problems are more complex. We have reached that stage in the history of politics of the advent of which de Tocqueville so finely warned us—when we might have a population not dissatisfied with its material environment and willing to entrust its government to an oligarchy not the less dangerous because it is more subtly disguised than the old. Certain at least it is that the increasing concentration of power in a few hands is, in every state, a spectacle that ought to give us pause. The real source of freedom is the division of power. The only known political mechanism by which that end can be obtained is a federal system. Never was the analysis of its possibilities so greatly needed. We are on the threshold of political experiments more vast than we have ever known. We can approach them with confidence only insofar as we understand the materials with which we are to work.

American Labor Politics

THE war will bring a new world in its wake. What the constitution of the new world will be no man can prophesy. But there is a wide consensus of opinion that it will be particularly distinguished from the world that is passing by the heightened prestige and political power of labor. It is for this reason that all men sincerely interested in the future of democracy have a legitimate concern in the deliberations, policies and activities of the organized labor movement. Their concern springs from the conviction that the character of the future democracy is largely at the mercy of the recognized leaders of organized labor.

In this perception of their necessary dependence upon the statesmanship of the labor movement lies the explanation of the enthusiasm with which sincere democrats throughout the English speaking world hailed the reconstruction programme of the British Labor party. In that programme the leaders of the British labor movement answered the inspiring challenge of the new world, whose doors the war is breaking open. They divested themselves of narrow class-consciousness. They pledged their leadership not only to the dues-paying membership of the trade unions who have a vested interest in "pure and simple trade unionism," but also to the heterogeneous forces of democracy—the unskilled and migratory workers, the tenant farmers, the clerks, the so-called intellectuals, all men and women whose hope for the future is staked not in the financial investments, but in that benign equality of opportunity to which democracy is pledged. They identified the interests of labor with the democratic interests of the entire nation.

The British Labor party, in their magnanimous effort to rise to the challenge of the new world, not unreasonably counted upon the sympathetic understanding and encouragement of the organized labor movement of democratic America. But their hopes in this quarter have been disappointed. Their programme was implicitly repudiated by the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which adjourned in St. Paul last week. Its authors were denounced as theorists and politicians, more interested in maintaining their political positions than in solving trade union problems. The Convention decided to adhere to its traditional allegiance to pure and simple trade unionism on the apparent theory that the interests of organized labor are essentially distinct from the larger democratic interests of the nation and that the responsibility of American labor leaders properly begins and ends with the vested interests of the present and prospective dues-paying membership of the trade unions.

If this theory were sound, if the interests of labor were separate and distinct from the larger interests of our democracy, the decisions of the American Federation would be nobody's legitimate concern but its own. But the theory is not sound. If the new world that is to follow in the wake of the war is to be a democratic world, it is inevitable that the labor movement should be at its very heart and driving centre. If the leadership of the labor movement is caste-bound and untouched by the larger democratic idealism that is stirring in the

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world today, it will be a drag upon democracy and an effective ally of the forces of Tory reaction.

This is the grave danger latent in the policy of pure and simple trade unionism to which the American Federation of Labor has renewed its allegiance. Mr. John P. Frye, of the Molders' Union, made a very able defense of this policy on the floor of the Convention. He reviewed the impressive growth of the American Federation of Labor during the past twenty years and its record of legislative achievement. He made an especially effective point with his audience when he asserted his personal opinion that in none of the countries of the Allies is the trade union movement given the recognition that has been accorded to the American Federation by President Wilson; that in no other country is there such effective cooperation between the government and organized labor as in the United States. And he attributed this fact to the wisdom of the American labor leaders in avoiding the entanglements of party politics and "to the position we have maintained in the matter of securing legislation to protect our interests." But Mr. Frye took no cognizance of the dangers latent in this particularistic preoccupation with "our interests." It is largely due to the narrow hostility of the pure and simple trade unionists to any programme of social reconstruction that threatened to infringe upon their vested interests that the nation finds itself in this war crisis without any adequate system of public employment offices for the effective mobilization of labor and without other essential instrumentalities of social organization, such as health insurance.

But it is when we look to the future that the true menace of the policy of pure and simple trade unionism appears. What the more serious evils of that policy are was revealed by the election of the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Before the outbreak of the war the most conspicuous division in the ranks of the Federation was that between the conservative majority, led by Mr. Gompers, and the radical minority, who were more or less under the socialist influence. With the outbreak of the war the ablest men in the traditional opposition rallied to the support of Mr. Gompers because of the splendid energy and enthusiasm with which he sustained the nation's war programme. But a large group of pure and simple trade unionists saw in Mr. Gompers's self-identification with the war administration at Washington an opportunity to make political capital for themselves within the labor movement. They took their cue from Mr. Hutcheson, of the Carpenters' Union, who refused to become a party to the agreement by which the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board was created and under which the other shipbuilding trades renounced the right to strike pending the arbitration of this Board. Last year they made a demonstration of their power by unseating Mr. Lennon, who as Treasurer of the Federation had been one of Mr. Gompers's staunchest supporters. This year they made a further demonstration by placing two of their own candidates upon the Executive Council, Mr. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers, and Mr. Jacob Fischer, of the Barbers; men, who so far as they have manifested any opinions at all, have been identified with the most reactionary elements in the American labor movement. They have been associated with the type of trade union politics which has brought neither strength nor enhanced reputation to the American Federation of Labor.

If the election of these labor Tories means anything it means that the policy of pure and simple trade unionism is rapidly going to seed. Worse than this, it means that at the end of the war, when the support of the radical minority will in all likelihood be withdrawn from Mr. Gompers, not the earnest and sincere conservatives who under Mr. Gompers's able leadership have built up the American trade union movement, but the office-seeking labor politicians, men without idealism or social vision of any kind, will be in the ascendant. The prospect of this possibility is a matter of grave and legitimate concern, not only to the dues-paying membership of the Federation, but equally to all forward-looking and sincere democrats. By standing pat on their outworn policy of pure and simple trade unionism the present leaders of American labor are not only jeopardizing their leadership within the organized labor movement, but are also forswearing that larger leadership to which the new world beyond the war is calling them.

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Federal Aid to Education

THE complacent attitude toward education into which this country has been lulled by a contemplation of efficiency as measured by records of school attendance and expenditures has suffered a shock from the revelations made not only by the existence of some discordant notes here and there, but also by the examination of recruits and others drafted into the national army. It is of little moment to point out that the United States has a much larger percentage of its young men and women in the high schools or colleges, and that the nation spends more per head of the population or of students than either Germany, France or England, when evidence of a high percentage of illiteracy or partial illiteracy is accumulating, when it becomes clear that the country has not been able to assimilate its immigrant population morally or intellectually, and when the number of rejections of recruits on the ground of poor physique is surprisingly high.

To many of these disagreeable facts the nation might have remained oblivious in normal times, but in the existing crisis such an attitude is indefensible whether from the point of view of immediate and pressing demands or of the future welfare of the country. The problems of reconstruction are devoid of the interest and appeal that can be made by national service of the moment, but it is essential that the best efforts of the country should be devoted to their solution with the consciousness that those who labor for the future are contributing their share toward securing the safety of democracy.

The most striking revelation in education during recent years has been the inequality of achievement of the schools throughout the country. An educational aim, widespread and universally accepted for all schools, may be impossible of attainment in a progressive democracy, and there is, indeed, little to commend such centralization as exists in Prussia or France. There is, however, everything to be said in favor of minimum national standards in education. Today the country suffers largely from a lack of coordinated effort in the direction of such standards. The educational opportunities and the resources available for education show the greatest diversity; compulsory attendance is in many parts of the country unsatisfactorily administered; the length of the school year varies from one state to another; and the greatest inequalities exist in the supply, training and compensation of teachers.

The war has helped to focus attention on these questions and on the desirability of a clearer definition of the aims and purposes of national education. The events of the past year have only served to aggravate the situation. The school administrators have been confronted with the problem of meeting the increased cost of maintaining the schools up to their present level. The building of new schools and all but the most necessary repairs must be postponed until better times. More serious, however, is the fact that the national government and many of the war industries have entered into competition with the schools and have not only drawn away many existing teachers, but are rather seriously interfering with the source of supply.

Fired by the laudable desire to do their bit in occupations more obviously associated with the immediate demands of the war, teachers have been apt to forget that their greatest service to their country may lie in performing their own special task better than ever before. At the same time they cannot be blamed for seizing opportunities that offer them greater financial returns than teaching, when their salaries fail to keep pace with the increasing cost of living. Similarly the girl who would normally have entered on her preparation for a teaching career finds that she can readily obtain a higher salary with considerably lower qualifications or preparation than are required for teaching.

Fundamentally the determining factor in educational administration becomes today one of finance. The school superintendents declare themselves unable to raise more money locally than is already furnished. The whole question of educational finance in relation to local taxation has not yet been adequately considered to determine the validity of such statements. Without going further into this problem an agitation has been begun for securing aid from the federal government. It is argued that the federal authority today is in a better position for levying taxes than is the local authority, that the nation as a whole is likely to suffer unless national measures are adopted for combating illiteracy, Americanizing the immigrant, and improving the physique of the citizens, and finally that teachers may now be regarded as performing service of national importance.

Those who argue in this way for federal aid are not without precedents. The national government has committed itself to aid for education under the

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Morrill acts and acts supplementary to these, and more recently under the Smith-Hughes act. In every case when such acts were proposed the same arguments of national importance and local poverty were put forward. In no case, however, has there been any suggestion of a principle to justify federal aid for education. The acts referred to have not been universal in their reach; they have dealt with special branches of education. The Morrill acts anticipated the real demand for agricultural colleges by nearly forty years, with the result that the institutions that were established under them only began to show some success in the present century.

Of a really much greater importance at the present time is the point that federal aid was unaccompanied by any but the most superficial type of control. The early history of the land grants for agricultural and mechanic arts colleges is too well known to be repeated. The Smith-Hughes act in the same way provides federal aid for a particular kind of education whose immediate need and justification are still open questions. The administration of this act, which has been in force for about a year, appears likely to err in the direction of too great restriction and too much interference with local experimentation.

Principles under which federal aid for education may be justified have accordingly not yet been enunciated. The success of an educational system in a democracy is so essentially dependent on local initiative, effort and sentiment, that undue interference from a central authority would probably defeat its own ends. A federal grant to promote an object whose need is not recognized locally may in the long run prove harmful rather than stimulating.

At the present moment it may be questioned whether a demand for federal aid can be justified solely on the ground that the cost of maintaining schools has increased. Coordinated national effort in education cannot be promoted merely by a grant of federal money. It is much more important that a reliable source of information and publicity be established, an office with sufficient prestige to make its influence felt throughout the country.

The United States is the only power of importance that lacks an authoritative ministry of education. Such a department could without difficulty be established by concentrating in one office the numerous departments and bureaus in Washington that deal in one way or another with various phases of education. A strong department of education, adequately financed and endowed with sufficient authority, could effectually assume a position of expert leadership that the country needs. The collection and distribution of reliable information on the condition and development of education and a sound system of publicity would go far toward stimulating local effort. The strength of the country in education lies in the great variety of conditions affording infinite opportunities for experimentation. To such a situation a department of education could adapt itself by recommending minimum standards without interfering with such advancement beyond these standards as may call out the best effort and initiative locally.

The need of such a body is more immediately pressing than the allotment of federal funds for other purposes. The eradication of illiteracy and the training of immigrants in citizenship are largely problems that should be dealt with locally. A better case can be made out for federal aid for the promotion of health education and for the better training of teachers. These are both policies which, to use a phrase of Mr. Justice Holmes, "can be shaped with a view to the benefit of the nation as a whole."

One of the chief proposals in the programme of educational reconstruction in England is an extension of the system of medical inspection in schools; whether the war is long or short this country cannot afford to neglect the health of the next generation. In the matter of the supply of teachers, Germany and France have long realized and England is beginning to realize that the essential factor in an educational system is the teacher. The retrenchments called for by the war may drive home the lesson in this country that a good teacher is of much greater importance than pretentious buildings, and that the payment of good salaries is a far better investment than the purchase of expensive equipment. There may be a redistribution of school expenditures so that the teachers receive a better share, but higher salaries are useless unless they are accompanied by an improvement in the preparation of the candidates. It is here that a federal fund may well be employed to strengthen the educational fabric of the country, partly by stimulating local authorities to find more money for the payment of higher salaries, but mainly by making such federal aid conditional on the raising of the qualifications and improving the training of teachers.

To administer even such a limited programme would also require the establishment of a strong department of education, which, in addition to the function outlined above, would be confronted with the task of developing a system of supervision that would stimulate and encourage local effort in promoting the educational reforms that are at present needed in the country.

I. L. KANDEL.

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A Jewish University

AS a welcome assurance that Zionism is something more than a nationalistic hunger for land, something more than a mere ambition on the part of the Jewish people to assume a political rank among the states of the world, comes the news of the purchase of a site for the new Jewish university in Jerusalem. If Zionism is to justify itself before its own people and before the nations, it will have to do so through its cultural achievements. That is why the idea of a Hebrew university appealed so strongly to the imagination of Jewish nationalists long before there was any definite prospect of seeing their hopes for a Zionist state in Palestine realized.

Agitation for the establishment of a Jewish university is as old as the Zionist movement itself. In the decades before the war the groundwork for the educational system of Palestine was laid. More than fifty elementary schools and two secondary schools of recognized academic standing were established in the forty-eight Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem and Jaffa. The University in Jerusalem was looked forward to as the crown of the educational system, and plans for it were discussed by all the leading Hebrew educators of Europe and America. In Germany a project was started for a Polytechnical Institute in Palestine, but had to be abandoned when the leading patrons of the proposed school insisted that the language of instruction be German. It was feared that there was an ulterior purpose in the gift, that it was to be used as an arm of German imperialism in the Orient. There was also strong agitation under the lead of Israel Abrams and Professor Weitzman to found a College of Hebrew Learning, a sort of school for theological and philosophical study, for which the Hebrew language was already well equipped. But it is an indication of the essential sincerity of the Zionist purpose to develop a modern Jewish culture and to make Hebrew an actual living tongue, that the majority decided to stand out for a complete secular university, with all the faculties that such a university normally embraces.

At the notable Zionist Congress held in Vienna in 1913, resolutions were adopted calling for a modern Jewish University at Jerusalem, with Hebrew as the language of instruction. Edmond de Rothschild, of Paris, pledged his financial support, and a site was agreed upon, near the Mount of Olives, which overlooks all Palestine. It required some courage on the part of the delegates to insist on Hebrew as the medium of instruction, for the ancient language was woefully unsuited to everyday modern usage. However, the work of adapting and enlarging the Hebrew vocabulary was already well begun in the various educational centres established in Palestine, and on the decision of the Congress received a new impetus for hastening it to completion.

The chief deficiency of Hebrew, as might be expected, was in technical words of modern origin —words, for instance, to denote telegraph and telephone, or the numerous other terms that have been introduced through the rapid advance of western science and invention. This lack was remedied in several ways. A number of words were taken over bodily from current use and Hebraized. Others were newly invented by translation of the component roots. Thus hydrogen was very ingeniously and poetically paraphrased as *avmayim,* father of waters. Still a third method was followed in developing new Hebrew words from stems that already existed in the language. All these changes and additions were embodied in a monumental Hebrew Dictionary compiled by Eliezer ben Jehudah, which is still in process of publication. Textbooks, too, were edited and translated into modern Hebrew by a group of educators in Jaffa.

All this work was naturally interrupted by the war, and in many cases badly set back by it. With the British occupation of Palestine it has been resumed, and is now proceeding very rapidly, so as to leave no doubt as to the practicability of unifying the Jewish settlers in the Holy Land under the common language of Hebrew. One of the first acts of the Jewish Commission which has arrived in this country to inaugurate civil administration was to look over the site for the university and make active preparations for its erection. The British Palestinian Committee, a non-Jewish organization, also has warmly recommended the immediate establishment of the University of Jerusalem along the proposed lines, and there is every reason to hope that it may be in operation in a short time, perhaps before the war ends.

Yet there is something unique and unbelievable in the idea of a Jewish University—the same strange incredibility that surrounds Zionism itself. Like Zionism we see it taking physical shape day by day. Day by day we read some brief and insignificant item in the inside pages of a newspaper announcing that another beam has been laid and another stone has been set in the mechanical structure of the Zionistic movement. We shall soon see the university actually being built, and large-scale immigration pouring into Palestine. But the mind will still refuse to accept the university of the Jewish state as a fact. The university in its larger sense, and the Zionism which it symbolizes, is something spiritual (like Americanism, which does not consist of one hundred million

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Americans but of some transcendental substance outside them). And how can stones and buildings and people or even books build up a spirit? But in some strange miraculous way they do accomplish that extraordinary feat, and in some strange miraculous way the Jewish spirit is coming into being.

The Jewish University will not be merely an institution to offer higher learning to the Jewish population which will be resident in Palestine. It will have to take upon itself the large work of fostering the new Jewish spirit. It will be a world university, an international university, which will serve all Jews from all nations. It will have to imbue them all with the new Jewish consciousness which is being created in Palestine. Only in this manner can Zionism at all attempt to solve the Jewish problem. Palestine has not room for more than four million Jews, so that the great mass of the Jewish race will perforce have to remain in the Diaspora. But what the Zionists hope to do is to create in Palestine a great Jewish centre which will unite and actively inspire the Jewish people of the entire world.

In the historic home of the race, the Jewish consciousness will be enabled to develop its fullest expression, unhampered by ghetto walls and the blighting force of alien numbers. In Zion the Jewish soul will have an opportunity for the fullest self-determination and a self-expression in accord with its great inherent genius. The Jewish soul in Palestine will not isolate itself from the rest of the world, but under the shelter of a Jewish state it will be free to choose and select those elements of western culture which it can truly assimilate without harm to its own individuality and reject those which it can not. It will have sufficient isolation and solitude to absorb those things which it has acquired and make them its own. And the Jewish soul in the Diaspora, too, will be revivified through the emanations from the Jewish soul in Zion. It will carry to Palestine and the Palestinian soil the culture and consciousness which it has acquired through its intercourse among the nations of the west, and it will take back the new culture and the new consciousness which has been produced under the skies of Zion.

In Roman days, when the Jewish people had already dispersed themselves in all the civilized countries of the empire, it was the custom for the provincial communities to send chests of money to Jerusalem to maintain the temple and the public worship. It was this annual flow of money into the Holy City, says Philo, that more than anything else served to maintain the piety of the nation. In the new Zion there is to be no temple. Its place will be taken by the university, and it will be the flow of Jewish education and Jewish ideas from the Diaspora that will be the basis of the new faith. Already a remarkable instance of this magic process is afforded by the announcement that M. Georg Brandes, the eminent Danish critic, and M. Henri Bergson have volunteered their services for the new university. Neither of these two distinguished Jews are pronounced Zionists, or have taken any part in the Zionist agitation; so that their enrolment under the banner of Jewish cultural nationalism augurs well for the success of the Jewish University in cementing the new Jewish spirit.

The university is to be but one, although the chief, of the agencies of culture which are to reach out from Palestine. A strong Hebrew press is to be established, and there already exists at Jaffa the nucleus of a Hebrew theatre. These three will give birth to the new Jewish learning, which will flow back from Jerusalem through the channels of Jewish life in the Diaspora, thence to deposit its rich sediment on western shores.

And what is to be the essence of the new Jewish learning and the new Jewish culture? It is easier perhaps to say what it will not be than what it will be. It will have nothing of the ghetto spirit in it. The most rigorous efforts have been made to exclude from the Jewish colonies in Palestine anything that suggests the warped and degraded conditions of Eastern Europe. The Hebrew schools that have already been established have none of the *heder* in them, and the university is not to be compared to the synagogue *yeshiva*. "It is remarkable," says Prof. Richard Gottheil of Columbia, who has visited the Palestinian settlements, "how under the open sky and refreshing sunlight the crooked back straightens out, and the ghetto Jew becomes a man!"

This does not mean that any attempt will be made to reconstruct and restore the old Hebrew spirit. The modern Jew does not possess the pure Hebrew spirit, and could not acquire it artificially. The sun does not stand still, and the Jew today is hardly what his ancestors were three thousand years ago when the Prophets first gave the idea of a universal God to the world. During that long period he has come in contact with all great peoples and civilizations that the world has known, with the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, the Gothic, the medieval and the modern, and with his own peculiar type of talmudic and ghetto culture. He has shown such a wonderful adaptability to all these widely different civilizations, such an incredible capacity to act in so many varied roles, that at times one begins to wonder whether the Jew possesses any individuality at all. But his individuality does exist, and exists unmistakably. Under the mask of multifariousness and superficial

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versatility of the Jewish race, there exists a common Jewish soul, a common bond that unites the far-flung Jewish communities of the world, the orthodox, the reformed, the atheistic, the assimilated and the unassimilated.

"This common bond," says Professor Gottheil, "is his deep-seated idealism, his fundamentally ethical and religious outlook upon life—in the broadest sense of the terms." This does not imply narrow sectarianism, or even Hebraism in the sense opposed to Hellenism. The foremost enlightened Jews today—the Bergsons and the Brandeses—are champions of the Hellenic or scientific spirit. The Jew is singled out from the non-Jew only by the passionate idealism, the intense seriousness—sometimes bordering on melancholy sadness—with which his spirit is imbued, by the moral force and restraint which he would add to the Greek conception of rationalism. It is not through chance that Jewish philanthropy is recognized as standard for the world. It is not by accident that so many social reformers are Jews by birth. It rather typifies the moral responsibility which is branded deep into the soul of the Jew, the eternal feeling that he *is* his brother's keeper!

One naturally asks why the Jew must go to Zion to express this religious idealism of his, why he cannot perform his full social service in his present worldly situation. There is a passage in Jean Christophe which well describes the position of the Jews in Europe at the present time. To quote an excerpt: "The Jews in Europe of today are the most active and living agents of good and evil. They carry hither and thither the pollen of thought . . ." They do carry hither and thither the pollen of thought, but the poignant tragedy in their position is that with all their incessant activity for humanity, humanity has neglected to provide them a home. They have lacked their little hive, where they could enjoy their few moments of living and resting instead of always acting and doing. Those who have aspired to live and to rest have been doomed to bitter disappointment. To quote again from Romain Rolland:

"But in some of the Jews the very source of life is tainted with a deadly poison. They have no desire, no interest in anything: no ambition, no love, no pleasure. Only one thing continues to exist, not intact, but morbid and fine-drawn, in these men uprooted from the East, worn out by the amount of energy they have had to give out for centuries, longing for quietude without having the power to attain it: thought, endless analysis, which forbids the possibility of enjoyment, and leaves them no courage for action . . ."

These homeless bees, "these hypernervous and restless creatures," as Rolland terms them, are now to be restored to their ancient home. The University will be their cultural hive. They will create sweet honey, and go forth "to spread hither and thither the pollen of thought."

BENJAMIN GINZBURG.

French Aid to Our Wounded

A DRAMATIC piece of emergency aid has been asked of the American Red Cross by the American army in connection with the hospitalization of our troops brigaded with the French and British. An American gassed or wounded soldier in the zone held by our own army is of course entirely cared for by the admirable American Medical Service. After receiving first aid at a dressing station he is transported by an ambulance either to a field hospital just back of the trenches or an evacuation hospital a little more remote from shells, from which in turn, as soon as his condition permits, he is carried by a sanitary train to one of the excellently equipped base hospitals which are scattered along our line of communications from Lorraine to the sea. Practically the same individualist system has hitherto prevailed in the French and British zones.

Now suddenly and inevitably the pooling of resources in men is leading to the pooling of medical and surgical resources. When our men are inserted in zones already equipped with French or British hospitalization it is uneconomical and indeed impossible for our army to create an exclusively American system for the emergency. Our wounded in such sectors receive first aid and field hospital care, sometimes from their own regimental surgeons and doctors, sometimes from those of our Allies, according to circumstance. But they must get their next treatment in French or British evacuation hospitals before being transported to our own base hospitals—that is, from the French zone; from the British, because of mere geography, they are evacuated to England.

How does an American soldier make his wants known in a French hospital? The American Red Cross asked itself this question as soon as the amalgamation began, and sent out nurses and aids as interpreters forthwith. The experiment has worked so well that it has been transformed into a system with the hearty concurrence of the American army medical authorities and the French Service de Santé; there are already Red Cross nurses in fifty French hospitals with a supervising nurse in the field to travel from one to another, and shift the teams where necessary. These nurses are able to obtain for their patients an unlimited supply of Red Cross clothing, cots, blankets, etc., and a

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supplementary diet. Further, the Red Cross is itself beginning to establish evacuation hospitals in every part of the French zone where American troops are regimented. They are called "Allied Hospitals" and though under the direction of the French Service de Santé are staffed by Red Cross doctors and nurses and supplied by the Red Cross; they care for American, French and English indifferently, the preference being given by the French authorities to American patients, and will undoubtedly have American army doctors to work with the Red Cross doctors.

A further bridging of the gap between the French front, the Service de Santé, and the American base hospitals has been made at the request of the army by a great extension of already existing Red Cross hospitalization in Paris. Three Red Cross hospitals were functioning before the offensive. These are now used exclusively for soldiers and enlarged in capacity; and on one of the famous Paris racetracks at the edge of the Bois de Boulogne a thousand-bed tent-hospital has sprung up, as it were, over night. A charming place, white double-walled tents sixty feet long by twenty feet wide, with wooden floors and doors and windows opening into fields of high grass and green tree tops. The first consignment of American soldiers—two hundred and two—arrived on Decoration Day, only three weeks after the Red Cross started operations, though a complete staff and personnel as well as construction, equipment, electricity, plumbing and supply had to be assembled. I have never seen happier patients than were recounting the Cantigny attack there last Sunday, and wandering out in their pyjamas into the sunny fields. A five-hundred bed gas hospital and a medical hospital are also projected in Paris. Three thousand beds are at present available and the supply, it is hoped, will be kept up to the need.

The situation of the American soldier in the British zone is of course in many ways simpler. It is expected that British military hospitals there will be able to take care of a great part of the American wounded, but the American Red Cross has already, for the benefit of American soldiers landing or stationed in England, and evacuated from British hospitals in France, provided and equipped hospitals on its own account, with a capacity of two thousand five hundred beds; in Liverpool, Southampton and London. In addition, the King has given the British Red Cross permission to erect a five-hundred bed hospital in Windsor Park as a gift to our Red Cross, which will furnish equipment and staff.

It should be a great comfort to the relatives of our troops in these critical weeks to feel that the surgical and medical resources of our Allies are ours, and that ours are theirs. Fortunately for us and for our Allies too, the storehouses of the American Red Cross were amply stocked: they can be drained without being exhausted. Its officers seem able to stand an equal drain in vitality and initiative in their new role of extemporizing hospitalization in a crisis. As the supply of nurses is not inexhaustible, the Department of Civilian Affairs is being combed as far as possible—to the disadvantage of its dispensaries. Soldiers must come first; the refugees themselves, pouring in again to the Paris stations from places nearer and nearer the capital, are the first to say so, with their tragic stories of homes shelled and razed to the ground.

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT.

Scales, a Tape-Measure, and Conservation

WE do many things badly in this country, but nowhere have we shown less intelligence than in the care of children from two years of age until after puberty. Malnutrition exists among them to an almost incredible degree. A recent survey in New York shows that of the million children of school age in that city, approximately one hundred and fifty thousand are stunted in their growth, retarded one to three years both in height and in weight. Such a degree of malnutrition if extended into adult life would cause all these to be rejected from the army as physically unfit.

Malnutrition prevails in other cities probably to an even greater degree, as New York has shown more than an ordinary interest in the welfare of her school children and has made relatively larger appropriations to her Bureau of Child Hygiene than most other cities.

This condition is not confined to the poor or to the children of parents in moderate circumstances. A survey of the younger boys in two famous preparatory schools noted for the wealth of their patrons has recently been made. More than thirty per cent of these boys are ten per cent to twenty per cent underweight for their height, nearly double the proportion found in a public school in the East Side of New York, where the first school nutrition clinic in this country is being conducted under the auspices of the Bureau of Educational Experiments.

Why is such malnutrition allowed to exist? The reasons are various. In the first place, no effective steps have been taken either by the medical profession or in the schools to identify this group. Such children may look well when dressed and thus escape detection. When examined by the

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private physician, as their various vital organs are normal, little attention is paid to their state of nutrition. The school physician is allowed inspection only and is unable to see through several layers of clothing. Therefore the child is considered well and is treated as such. If he falls behind in his studies, pressure at school is increased. If he fails he is called lazy. Thus a vicious circle is established that increases the degree of malnutrition. Later in life many of these children, unable to bear unusual stress, become physical and nervous wrecks.

Another reason for the existence of malnutrition lies in a general misunderstanding of its causes. Physicians, educators and social workers unite in accepting the doctrine that this condition is due to poverty or improper diet. Increasing the income of the wage-earner, building model tenements, lowering the high cost of living, are offered as panaceas for malnutrition. If poverty is the fundamental cause for malnutrition, how are we to account for the fact that malnutrition occurs as much among the well-to-do as among the poor, as much in small families as in large families, as much or more in the country than in the city? Nutrition clinics in the crowded south and west ends of Boston and this year in the East Side of New York show that poverty is the cause of malnutrition in less than five per cent of all cases, so low a percentage as almost to be disregarded as a factor in nutrition work. A study of the diets of the poor in New York and Boston shows an excess of protein and that they are entirely adequate in all other essentials for growth. Therefore the problem of malnutrition is not simply to be solved by the dietitian.

Study and treatment of these children in nutrition clinics show that in every case causes for the malnutrition can be found, and, when the causes are found and removed, the child, responsive to a strong force in nature that makes for recovery, will promptly return to normal weight and health.

The first step necessary to treat these children is to identify them. Scales, a tape-measure and a table of average weights for height will enable any person to discover all but the border line cases, because any child who is habitually seven per cent or more under average weight for his height is retarded at least a year in his development. This simple procedure of weighing and measuring the child is the first practical measure for success in his treatment. If the parent, the teacher, the school nurse and the child himself understand his condition, in most instances steps will be taken for its correction.

The second procedure is a complete and careful physical examination. This examination will show three to nine defects in every malnourished child, the most important of which are those that interfere with respiration, as infected adenoids or tonsils.

The third practical measure is to check up the food habits of these children. How many parents know how much their child eats? Think of keeping a horse or even a pet dog without measuring his food! Yet after the age of two years few physicians, even, find out whether a child is eating sufficient food for proper growth. Many of these children, besides habitually taking too little food, have serious faults in their food habits, such as the omission of cereals and milk from their diet, the use of tea and coffee, eating candy before meals, and fast eating—habits that in themselves are entirely adequate to cause malnutrition to a serious degree. Yet only rarely are these habits noticed. Were the same careful observation and accuracy used in the care of children as in the care of livestock, malnutrition would practically cease to exist.

The child's habits of sleep, of study, of exercise, in fact his whole life at home, at play and at school, should receive attention as affecting his nutrition, and practical demonstrations made to teach parents, teachers, and all concerned in his care the essentials of growth and health. Work in nutrition is partly medical but largely educational, and therefore should be carried on in the schools, which are already well organized for such work, with their school physician, nurses, teachers and home workers.

Such adequate care would practically eliminate malnutrition among children in a short time, the majority of cases in less than one school year, saving the state the present economic loss that exists in trying to educate children who are to all intents and purposes sick. It seems absurd to think of educating children affected with typhoid fever or pneumonia; why then try to educate children who are toxic because they have physical defects or because they are suffering from serious malnutrition?

Unless this problem is taken up by the federal government, it seems hardly probable that school boards will have sufficient interest in the subject to change their system of education to a point necessary to include special provisions for the malnutrition group. However, until such interest is felt in the school, an intelligent father or mother can independently solve the problem successfully in the home. After weighing and measuring the child, if it is definitely found that he is retarded in his growth, the following steps should be taken:

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First he should have a complete physical examination by the family physician, conducted in the presence of the parents. The child's clothing should be entirely removed, all vital organs examined, and special attention paid to any obstruction the child may have in his breathing. If he breathes through his mouth, there must be some obstruction either in the nose or throat that requires attention. All defects should be corrected so far as possible, except those requiring corrective exercises, which should receive attention after nutrition has improved. This physical examination should be made as carefully as for recruits entering the army.

The next procedure is to keep a record of all the food the child eats in a period of forty-eight consecutive hours, each meal by itself. For example, the number of tablespoonsful of cereal, the amount of cream and sugar put on it, the number of slices of bread, pats of butter, et cetera. This record will show very accurately the child's food habits and make it possible to know that he is taking a sufficient amount for gain. A growing child of school age who is underweight should take at least 2,000 calories. Habits as regards tea and coffee, candy between meals, fast eating, should be noted and corrected. The child should be weighed regularly once a week until he attains normal weight for his height.

Further study should be made of his habits of sleep and exercise. Rest periods in the case of underweight children are necessary to guard against overtiredness. Attendance at school should be limited to a half day, unless an open air school is available. All outside studies, especially music, should be omitted.

The cooperation of the child can be gained by suggestion. A boy will change his habits to almost any degree in order to be a good athlete. Girls wish to be well and strong that they may dance and play tennis; the desire to become attractive also appeals to them. If under these circumstances the child does not rapidly gain normal weight and health, further study may be necessary, but in every case success should be considered certain.

If this war continues it will be but a short time before these older children become a part of the nation's defense and strength. The nation, the state, school boards, institutions, educators and all who are interested or have authority in the care of these children should adopt the sane programme of "Health first and education later." The existence of malnutrition in children indicates ignorance, inefficiency, and failure. Adequate measures for the correction of malnutrition represent wise and constructive conservation.

WILLIAM R. P. EMERSON.

Disclosure Day

A FEW months before Joseph Usher's thirteenth birthday his mother informed his father that the time was approaching when they must tell Joe. Dick Usher made no objection. He had never approved Maria's policy of reticence. "Why," he often said to her, for a year or two after she had announced her policy, "why can't you let Joe hear these things naturally, from other boys, the way I did?" And Maria, whose character had the merit of firmness, did not answer more than two or three times. So long as Dick carried out her wishes she respected his freedom not to understand her reasons.

There were a good many things poor Dick did not understand. Maria had explained to him, once or twice, why they went to live in the country a few years after Joe's birth, why Joe was to have tutors until he went to boarding school, why he was to be kept from contamination by other boys until he was twelve or thirteen. But Dick never got Maria's idea through his head. She put words he did not know into sentences he could seldom listen to the whole of.

Little by little, however, Dick had come to the conclusion that Maria's system was not doing Joe much harm. Although Joe liked to study he had neither the excessive egotism nor the excessive shyness nor the excessive cheek which sometimes afflict a solitary child. He was quite at home in a catboat and on a horse. Both with gun and rifle he was a fair shot. He could already putt more consistently than his father. His instructor in boxing was more than satisfied. And Dick, without having betrayed all his hope to anybody, was persuaded that Joe was a natural volleyer.

Maria never suspected Dick's critical attitude. She had not time for such things. But his approval of her decision to tell Joe was too facile to satisfy her. It provoked her to something she called discussion. She told Dick that the interval between Disclosure Day and the opening of school must be neither too long nor too short. It must, in fact, be of exactly the right length. To send Joe forth into the herd before he had grown accustomed to his burden of knowledge would be an injustice to a sensitive boy. Nature must be given adequate time in which to efface the stigmata of initiation. On the other hand, the body of fresh knowledge must still be vivid enough in the boy's mind for him to distinguish, upon his arrival at the school, between accessions to this knowledge and mere repetitions.

"Our experiment," Maria concluded, "will be a failure, or perhaps I should rather say its success will be gravely compromised, unless it be made in conditions which will constitute it a distinctly

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fruitful approach to that gregarious life which Joe is about to enter."

Now this was the kind of sentence that Dick could never attend to. It put him to sleep. But its successor woke him. "However," Maria was saying, "we can discuss the date on our way to California." Dick did not want to go to California. Again and again he had given Maria all sorts of good reasons for not going. He had kept from her nothing but the truth—that he wanted to be at home this spring, he wanted to ride with Joe through the woods on lengthening afternoons, to walk with him before the roads got dusty. Summer? Yes, they'd have the summer together, many summers, but this was the last spring. Of course there was no good saying things like this to Maria.

This threatened discussion, as it happened, never took place. A letter from Dr. Claxton, headmaster of the school for which Joe had been put down, said a vacancy had unexpectedly occurred. He gave his reasons for thinking they might wish to send Joseph to St. Peter's at the conclusion of the Easter holidays. The date was only a fortnight off, yet Maria, notwithstanding the fact that the picking and choosing of Disclosure Day was thus taken out of her hands, at once accepted Dr. Claxton's offer. Dick wondered why. He had even a hazy feeling that Maria wanted to deprive him of his unspoken argument against the trip to California.

Having dreaded Disclosure Day, on the few occasions when he thought of it at all, Dick was not pleased to find that it had arrived. "By our methods of introducing the subject," Maria assured him, "we can fix its exact importance in Joe's mind. You, as his father, must tell him, very seriously and very frankly, that he has hitherto lived in an ignorance which, most formative until now, must now be brought to an end. When you are certain that his attention has been arrested you may give him the books. Here they are. I regret my inability to be with you. I shall return from town in time for dinner."

As soon as Maria was safely on her way to the station Dick summoned Joe to the library. The summons was an undignified whistle.

"I say, Joe," he began, "here's something I don't think you've read and that you might have a look at. They're yours if you like 'em."

Maria never succeeded, not even after the fatal fruit of Disclosure Day had ripened, in obtaining from Dick any save the cloudiest account of this interview. She never discovered that Dick and Joe had spent the whole of Disclosure Day together, reading the enlightening books aloud and laughing.

No bad news reached the Ushers until the middle of June, when they stopped at St. Peter's, a week before school closed, on their way home from California. Even then Dr. Claxton was most kind. Joseph, he said, was a good boy. He was a manly little fellow. He had a natural batting eye and his throwing to bases was unusually accurate for one so young. He was a promising candidate for the choir. Nevertheless, and Dr. Claxton came now to the most painful part of his duty, he must ask them to withdraw Joseph from St. Peter's.

It took Maria and Dr. Claxton some little time to understand one another. She was slow to realize that Joe's fault was the habit of writing jokes on slips of paper and passing them about in study hours. Little by little he had demoralized his whole form. Almost all the boys kept one eye on Joe, waiting and watching for him to start a joke on its rounds, ready to laugh even before the joke was made known. Dr. Claxton had never seen a boy who knew by heart so many of the world's oldest stories. Study in the first form had ceased to be.

At this point Maria suggested to Dick that he had an engagement to play squash with the mathematics master. Alone with Dr. Claxton she told him about Disclosure Day. Her married life, she said, and she spoke in the strictest confidence, had been impaired by her husband's inclination to tell stories and repeat jokes. She had determined that her son should never become a similar thorn in the flesh of his companions. Therefore she had done her utmost to keep him from knowing that there was such a thing as a pleasantry or an anecdote in the world. She had persuaded her husband, not without difficulty, to cooperate by abstinence from jesting. On Disclosure Day three carefully selected jest books had been put in Joseph's hands. After he had read them, just before he came to St. Peter's, she had told him that the contents of these books were secrets known to all, and that he must take all other boys' knowledge for granted. She did not comprehend how the result could have departed so widely from her justifiable expectations.

To Maria's extreme surprise it was Dick who found a way out of their predicament. Although Dr. Claxton averred that neither suasion nor threats had any power over Joe, Dick succeeded in inducing the Doctor to give the boy one more chance in the autumn. Stranger still, beyond saying that he had persuaded one of the masters to tutor Joe throughout August, Dick would give no account of his plan. After fifteen years of married life he had made a declaration of independence.

Once at home again, however, Dick consented to explain. His idea had come to him when he saw the effect of St. Peter's upon Joe, whose eagerness to study had completely disappeared. Dick had

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gone to every class-room and picked out the likeliest master, Mr. Harold Winship.

"I hate to spoil Joe's August," he said. "But I guess it's the only way." He undid several parcels and showed Maria more jest-books than she had supposed the world could contain. "Joe has got to study these," he went on. "And I've outlined a course for him and the tutor. Like this."

Maria read the paper Dick put under her eyes: "The jests of Western Europe, with special attention to their relative longevity. Monday, Wednesday and Friday, 9-11. The morphology of pleasantry, considered in relation to the anecdotes of (a) dominant and (b) subject races. Tuesday and Thursday, 9-11, with a third period at the pleasure of the instructor. Laboratory and field work, Saturday, 9-12."

Maria's eyes grew wet as Dick unfolded his plans. "Richard," she said, "I have done you an injustice. But are you sure Mr. Winship will understand?"

"He won't have to," Dick answered. "Winship can kill anybody's interest in anything while you wait. He believes in mental discipline." Q. K.

VERSE

Students

1.

She sweeps in like the moon goddess,
and she has never studied
her lessons;
and when I flunk her
I feel that I am flunking Diana.

2.

I have great faith in this boy—
he makes me think of mountains.
Every now and then
he looms in the rear of the room
like a peak in the Andes:
but how would you like to teach
a peak in the Andes?

3.

There are some who turn my class-room
into a morgue,
and I find this hard;
but he turns my class-room
into a rathskellar
with his face and his talk and his ways.
Therefore I prize him.

4.

She has a discontented face
until she smiles.
Perhaps she would like to smile all the time,
and thinks I will not permit it.

5.

He has a certain look in his eye—
a look I have seen before.
All men of one idea
have this look;
they go to the stake,
to the torture-chamber,
with this in their eye.
I know what the boy's idea is,
and I live in fear
that others may discover it, and for it
somehow crucify him.

6.

Sometimes I have nervous moments—
there is a girl who looks at me strangely
as much as to say,
You are a young man,
and I am a young woman,
and what are you going to do about it?
And I look at her as much as to say,
I am going to keep the teacher's desk
between us, my dear,
as long as I can.

7.

There is a smell not of the city about him,
as though his pockets were stuffed
with chestnuts, or apples,
or as though he had been working
in hay or straw;
and he smells faintly of animals, too,
of dogs and of horses;
and there is a vague smell of gunpowder about him,
and a vague smell of tobacco;
and behind all these smells
is a miraculous distance
of river and field and wood,
all in the smell of out-doors.

8.

She looks at me
as though I were a stone wall
between her and heaven—
whereas I try to be
a window for her,
and a door, a gate, a ladder, an elevator—
yet she will not look through,
or leap through,
or fly through,
or do anything but stare.

9.

A little cherubino comes in
when the class is all over,
and says she is so sorry,
that my class is such an inspiration,
and such a queer sensation,
but ten-thirty is an early hour,
and the street-car service poor.
And I tell her softly, that in heaven
the street-car service is always poor,
but the good little angels rise up early
and get to school on time.
And she says, "O, thank you,"
so effusively.

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10.

The first day I didn't see her,
nor the second, nor the third,
and when at last I saw her,
I hardly noticed her.
Yet this girl has gone through a tragedy
fighting those who had to be fought,
and nursing those who needed nursing.
And you would never guess it,
except for a queer little line at her lips
and her eyes, that are blue as steel,
blue as a dagger, blue as a quiet lake.

11.

To do one's best and to fail
is disaster enough;
but it is worse to remember
how one might have done more.
It is too late—he has gone;
and nothing I can do
will bring him back to me,
will give me another chance with him,
not that I think it would have mattered.

12.

She needs a more exotic air to blossom in—
clash of cymbals should precede her elephant
down the street to school—
she should be black from head to toes,
wearing barbaric jewels—
and now that I think of it,
why couldn't she come through my class-room
window
on the elephant's trunk?

13.

She regards me haughtily
as perhaps Mrs. Siddons
regarded the third George—
and after all, why should she not?
But I live in terror of hearing her say,
In that tragical voice of hers, some day,
Bid me, out, out, damned spot.

14.

She says, If writing were like dancing,
then I could bring my dreams.
And I ask her what has lighter feet
than a dancing word?
and what speeds faster, what lasts longer
than a dance of phrases
down a page to far music?
She does not answer.

15.

He is the only one who ever dared
sit on my sacred desk
and rumple my sacred hair.
Yet he is the only one
who ever cared to carry my books
and call me "Maestro" in public.
And whenever I said a clever thing
he would exclaim, "Priceless, priceless!"

16.

All he sees is the dollar sign,
and he suspects me
of wasting his time.
O for some clever accountant
to compute my cash value—
for then I could write dollar signs
across the blackboard behind me,
and he would pay strict attention
and make little entries
in a little ledger.

17.

She is hungry for dreams;
without them she will perish.
But I fear she turns away
from the only dream that lasts
and gives her precious youth
to the dreams that go in an hour.

18.

We have given him a mask,
we parents and teachers,
and to please us
he writes moral axioms in a little book
and debates with himself continually
whether he lives the nobler life.
Nevertheless, great blood is his.
He is of the kin of Rigoletto,
Sancho Panza is his comrade,
Touchstone his uncle;
and he goes sedately down the path of pierrot
arm in arm with harlequin.

19.

When our eyes meet
I go cold to my feet.
Some day I shall forget my necktie,
and on that day, proud and reproachful,
she will point her finger at me—
and the walls of my world
will tumble.

HANIEL LONG.

Quietude

The earth ends in a silent ring;
Silence buries the idiot noises of many deeds.

A soundless matrix embeds the distant thuds
Of practicing artillery, the shuffling of southwest wind,
The flap of near papers.
In an undistinguished, broad moment they flutter
Hastily against the still distance.
They flop out of particular form,
Back into the pool of invisibility.

The face of the earth has many noises today;
Soldiers loiter under tents; motor trucks
On accurate roads spatter out
Muddy jets of sound; guns
Thump against the lucid atmosphere
And bend it with sudden dents
Of new noise. Each thing
Is sound, a color, a moment.

A horizon of silence binds all the earth
In a soundless ring.

BAKER BROWNELL.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Funds for British Labor

SIR: The issue as supplements to the New Republic of the Memorandum on War Aims and Labor and the New Social Order, representing respectively the peace and the reconstruction platforms of the British Labor party, and the interest shown in them by your readers, embolden me to lay before them the appeal for an election fund which Mr. Arthur Henderson has issued to all who desire to see the British Labor movement adequately represented in the new House of Commons, which will fall to be elected about six months hence.

In Great Britain, as in the United States, a general election campaign necessarily involves a large expenditure by every political party. At the present time the cost is four or five times as great as in former years, owing to the ten-fold increase in the price of paper—to say nothing of its absolute scarcity—the doubled cost of printing, and the greatly swollen expense of traveling and postage. The candidates of the Labor party are nearly all poor men. The party has none of the resources on which the other political parties rely. On the other hand, it has the enthusiasm of millions of adherents, and the assistance of practically all the great trade unions. These do not yield nearly enough in hard cash to enable full use to be made of the devoted personal service freely given by those who can afford only the smallest pecuniary contributions. To bring the Labor party programme effectively to the notice of the seventeen or eighteen millions of electors of Great Britain (over a third of them women, and probably two-thirds of the whole newly enfranchised); to contest anything like the whole 600 constituencies (six of them composed of the 100,000 university graduates); and to finance the candidatures of such poorer sections as the agricultural laborers, requires an election fund of at least half a million dollars. There is, at present, not a fifth of this in sight.

It will be particularly unfortunate if the reconstituted Labor party, representing the "producers" whether "by hand or by brain," cannot raise from other sources at least as much as will be contributed by the great trade unions. These naturally support, in the main, their own candidates; and, valuable as the trade union officials are, it will be a misfortune if they do not have the assistance in the new House of Commons of the "intellectuals," who, whether teachers, authors, doctors, lawyers or architects, are joining in great numbers. But these new recruits, though rich in zeal and knowledge, are almost universally poor in money and without the backing of their vocational organizations. Moreover, the Labor party is laudably anxious to bring to its great task all the resources of science and learning. It has appointed a whole series of advisory committees on particular subjects, and composed of the best-informed and most experienced men and women on the various political issues that it can find; and it is asking these voluntarily serving experts, not only to revise and work out in practical detail its reconstruction proposals, but also to concentrate their attention on the unsolved problems of British statesmanship. This work of investigation and research—which it is a credit to the Labor party to have undertaken, in marked contrast with the common practice of politicians—inevitably involves expense. It would be a calamity, not to Great Britain alone, to starve this work, just because the indispensable campaign charges eat up all the funds.

It is primarily to Englishmen and Scotchmen now resident in the United States that I address this appeal. The Irishmen abroad have always recognized an obligation to lend assistance to the Irishmen at home. There must be many thousands of men and women in the United States who admire the effort being made by the British Labor party to bring a new spirit into politics, and who sympathize with that effort none the less because their residence in America deprives them of the opportunity of personally participating in it. But to the Americans themselves I would add that it is becoming every day more clear that, in the United Kingdom, it is the British Labor party which is President Wilson's firmest ally. In all Europe, the policy of the United States in this war has found its most cordial, most whole-hearted and least equivocating support, not in the governments, but (at the instigation and largely through the influence of the British Labor party) in the labor movements of the Allied nations. It would not be to the advantage of the influence of the United States, and of President Wilson himself, in the future conduct of the war, and in the settlement that must "make the world safe for Democracy," that the British Labor party should, for mere lack of money, suffer defeat at the forthcoming election.

Donations, large or small, should be sent to the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., 1 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1.

SIDNEY WEBB.

London, England.

The School of Social Research

SIR: Your stimulating discussion of the plans for the new School of Social Research has recalled vividly to my mind the interest with which, some fifteen years ago, we organized the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy under its earlier name of the Chicago Institute of Social Science. Our hopes have always outrun our resources, but we have never regretted the venture of faith which resulted in the successful growth of the School, which has been so useful as a training centre for the young college graduates of the Middle West. Because I have been from its beginning a trustee of this School, I was especially interested in your suggestion that the so-called schools of philanthropy (as a matter of fact we are really called the "School of Civics") were the offspring of a "charitable rather than a scientific impulse." I do not believe this was true of our Chicago School, which was founded not by the charity organization society but by the settlements. Graham Taylor, of the Chicago Commons, and Julia Lathrop, of Hull House, were the real founders of the School, and they have been continuously and actively responsible for its development ever since. Dr. Taylor's fine enthusiasm for civic reform and Miss Lathrop's long connection with the State Board of Administration led them to visualize the possibilities of a training school for public service, and it has always been true that the graduates of the Chicago School have gone more largely into the public service, than into the service of private charitable organizations.

The Chicago School has maintained for ten years a Department of Social Research, in which students have been trained for research work and at the present time more than

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thirty graduates and former students of this department are holding positions in the federal Department of Labor, either with the Children's Bureau or with the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Other students are doing research work for Bureaus of Municipal Research and for other private organizations. Although this department has been maintained solely for the training of students and has lacked the funds for independent research work, some valuable studies have been prepared by the department and published by the University of Chicago Press, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the American Journal of Sociology.

Again, a valuable course in public recreation with practice work in the Hull House Gymnasium and Theatre has been given for the past five years in the Chicago School. This course was organized to meet the demand for trained workers in the public recreation centres of Chicago and to furnish candidates for the Civil Service lists who were socially well trained as well as technically trained in gymnastic work, folk dancing, pageantry, games, etc. College graduates have been gradually attracted to this course, which has been of added usefulness during the past year in helping to meet the demand for workers from the War Recreation Board.

A third course outside the charity field is the training course for public health nurses. This course, now in its third year, has met an increasing demand for nurses who have had social training in addition to their technical equipment.

Quite recently a new course in industrial service has been announced. This has been organized primarily to meet the need for women employment supervisors in the munition plants, but it is hoped that the valuable courses in labor problems, industrial hygiene, factory management, etc. will remain permanently a part of the School curriculum.

The School has been a technical and professional school, but it has already a fine tradition of independent and scholarly work. There is developed too a high regard for the contribution that can be made by persons in practical work to the fields of applied social science that have in the past been so generally neglected by the universities. Mrs. Florence Kelley in an address at the recent National Conference of Social Work said that she considered the Chicago School of Civics one of the last outposts of freedom in this country, large in its tolerance, and in its desire to give to the young college graduates who gravitate there in increasing numbers each year a capacity for courageous and independent thinking.

As I have said before, our hopes in Chicago have always outrun our resources—but we still have hopes! We shall look forward to your new school and the fulfillment of your plans as a source of new inspiration.

A Trustee of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

American Labor Party Needed

SIR: I want to express my hearty appreciation of the editorial in your June 8th issue headed The A. F. of L. Convention and to commend you especially for the thought so well expressed in the following sentence, "But all true democrats today, all workers who live by hand or brain or both, are vitally concerned in the decisions of organized labor." I believe also that you state a fact when you say concerning democracy that ". . . its future and inevitable development rest in the hands of the workers of the world and primarily with the wage workers."

I believe that I speak for a majority of the professional men of this country when I say that we are earnestly looking for some really democratic organization around which we can rally politically. Our reasoning powers show us clearly the utter hopelessness of making any special progress by supporting alternatively one or another of the two major political parties, whose platforms are framed solely to meet the exigency of the day and are based on no principle whatever. Many of us vote the Socialist ticket both as a protest and because it stands for a principle, but we can hardly rally around that party, because you know that the better social condition of tomorrow must evolve from the condition of today.

I hope that your appeal to Mr. Gompers to broaden the activities of the A. F. of L. may come directly to his attention, and that he may find a way to make it possible for us to cooperate with the A. F. of L. in an unselfish development of democracy.

X.

Shell-Shock Rehabilitation

SIR: An interesting, because a pioneer, departure in war emergency summer courses for women has been undertaken jointly by Smith College and the Boston Psychopathic Hospital: A Training School of Psychiatric Social Work. Its aim is to increase the available doctor-power for the proper treatment of "shell-shock" among our soldiers. Smith College was approached in the matter by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, a sub-committee which will act as an advisory board for the school. This means that an influential group of our eminent psychiatrists believe that intelligent women, with such training and experience as the Smith College course contemplates, will be of substantial assistance to them in the impending crisis. Dr. L. Pierce Clark of New York has stated that he can treat three hundred neurotic patients a day if he has an adequate force of trained helpers. This implies a tremendous extension of the specialist's curative power.

The training and employment on a large scale of "mental hygiene aids," as Dr. Southard, director of the Boston Psychopathic, calls them, is an experiment. But behind it, in addition to the scientific authority of the Mental Hygiene Committee, is the official endorsement of Col. Pearce Bailey, Division of Neurology and Psychiatry of the Surgeon General's office. Col. Bailey has authorized the statement that this office approves the plan and will be glad to employ some of the graduates of the course in military service. There will be other opportunities: for example, work in psychiatric clinics, which must be enlarged to meet war needs, and in reemployment and rehabilitation agencies, federal and civil, which are a part of the government's large plan of reconstruction work, now taking shape. Nervous and mental cripples will be both more numerous than physical cripples, and more difficult to reinstate in society after the war. Hence the demand for trained adjusters.

Miss Mary C. Jarrett, chief of social service at the Boston Psychopathic, will direct the training course, which is open to college graduates and to those having had an equivalent technical training. It consists of two months' academic work, beginning July 8th, in sociology, including methods of social case work, psychology, and social psychiatry; with hygiene, occupational therapy, record-writing, and military usage as minor studies. The coopera-

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tion of the Northampton State Hospital makes clinical instruction possible. Six months of practice will follow immediately, at centres where social work with psychiatric cases can be done under expert supervision: such as Phipps Clinic, Baltimore, the New York Neurological Institute, and the Massachusetts General and Psychopathic Hospitals in Boston. Further details may be obtained from Miss Jarrett at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital.

On the staff of lecturers with Dr. Southard, who is also chairman of the advisory committee, are Drs. William L. Russell and L. Pierce Clark of New York, Walter L. Fernald of Waverley, Herman Adler of Chicago, Edith R. Spaulding of Bedford Hills, and other eminent specialists, together with members of the departments of sociology and psychology at Smith College, Rutland, Vermont.

EDITH KELLOGG DUNTON.

Northampton, Massachusetts.

Advertisement Spies

SIR: Several years ago the Germans used the clever expedient of communicating military information by means of innocent-looking bill boards throughout France. The position of these bill boards, the nature of the product advertised, the color used—all these things were significant to an invading party.

Advertising is again being used as a means of communicating with the enemy and, as a preventive, both France and Italy are enforcing regulations which make it necessary for the publishers of magazines and newspapers to "blacken out" all advertisements if the publications are sent out of those countries. Just as in the case of posters, these advertisements contain secret code messages and are possible of almost limitless application.

Every person who realizes how exceedingly easy it is to transmit important information by code will appreciate the value of this order. Vast quantities of American magazines are being sent to the Allied and neutral countries and from there, they may be very easily relayed into Germany.

To carry out the order adequately will impose certain hardships. But this is a period of hardships and the sooner we understand it the better. It is time that we in America, surrounded by spies of every description, pay some attention to this aspect of espionage.

"It pays to advertise." Yes. But it does not—and it cannot—pay to advertise military information which will give aid to the enemy.

ARNOLD W. ROSENTHAL.

New York City.

Business Training for College Girls

SIR: Some weeks ago your correspondence section printed a letter from Virginia Dixon, of Missoula, Montana, entitled: "Do Your All, Not Your Bit." This young lady wishes to do something besides follow Mr. Hoover's advice and roll bandages in the Red Cross workroom and says: "Last June I graduated from college. There must be hundreds of others like me. This year, because I did not want to teach—the only thing that I am at all trained to do, I stayed at home," and goes on to tell the varied and sundry things which have filled her days but which she feels amounted to nothing vital in helping to win the war.

On April 1st, the Women's Collegiate Section was established by the United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, to get college trained women for positions where they are needed in the government. Scores of such letters as Miss Dixon's come weekly to this office. The trouble with all these girls is confessed by Miss Dixon when she says: "I did not want to teach, the only thing that I am at all trained to do." It is the lack of technical training which is hindering numbers and numbers of college girls such as she from being of value to the country in the many positions which they might fill. A few months spent in a business school taking either courses in business administration and executive management or stenography are paying investments for the college trained woman as well as her less fortunate sister who has not been able to go further than the grades or High School. She should not feel that her education will be wasted should she obtain a stenographic position, for government officials are not at all slow in giving girls work up to the measure of their capacity when they prove what that capacity is. The demand for stenographers here in Washington is so overwhelming that they have been drawn from all parts of the country, which must necessarily mean that the demand for them is great everywhere. In many business houses girls might render valuable service starting as stenographers and working into the business, a great deal of which is indirectly very important war work. Business and secretarial courses cannot be too strongly urged upon young college women. A summer spent in acquiring this kind of knowledge will be a profitable patriotic investment.

JULIA NEWTON BROOKS.

Washington, D. C.

No Afro-Americans

SIR: The prevailing opinion is that the average Negro or those who form the rank and file of the race, have no conception of what democracy means. Many have the idea that the Negro confuses democracy with the Democratic party. However, a close contact with Negroes, and in particular Negro soldiers who have been drawn from all classes of the race, has convinced me that this average Negro thinks. Although he may not be able to give an exact definition of the word democracy, he has a thorough knowledge of many of the basic principles and advantages of democracy. In reply to the question, "What do you understand by the statement, 'We are fighting to make the world safe for democracy?'" one of these average Negroes from Oklahoma, a member of the 317th Engineers, said, "It means we are fighting to have a government in which every fellow who behaves himself can live peacefully, and have a chance to make of himself as much as possible."

The Negroes love America and are willing to sacrifice and die to see democracy triumph over autocracy. At the same time they are hoping and praying, in fact, they are fighting, that as a result of this war for democracy they, as other unfortunate peoples, may have a right to develop themselves and their children in the way accorded to the whites in this country. They, the average Negroes, farmers, laborers and soldiers, as well as the educated class, demand to be considered not as Afro-Americans, but as Americans with all the rights and privileges to which they are entitled. They feel that their loyalty and patriotism to this Government justify them in making such demands at this time.

CHAS. E. ARNOLD,

325th Field Signal Battalion,
Camp Sherman, Ohio.

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Foe-Farrell

Foe-Farrell, a romance, by Q (Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch). New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.50.

A ROMANCE like Foe-Farrell is not meant for the Munsey public. It is a cut above the production that satisfies the customers of Street and Smith. But it is standardized Romance, skillfully provided, and a happy group awaits it. Its smooth second-hand invention, its sweet facility, entitle it to a wide consideration.

The personal dreadfulness of Peter Farrell takes Q many pages to establish. Peter Farrell is a Cockney Philistine, a "prosperous reach-me-down person," a tradesman whose eyes bulge like gooseberries. He tucks a crimson silk handkerchief in between his shirt-front and his white waistcoat in the evening—"Maria used to insist on it. She said it looked neglijay." He calls a napkin a "serviette." He calls champagne "fizz." To Q's public these aberrations ought to say everything. Farrell is a cad, a bounder, a mucker. And John Foe is at war with a Philistine.

John Foe is a Cambridge man, handsome and unusually able and sincere and unaffected and reticent, professor of animal morphology in the South London University College. Some time in 1907 the man who tells the yarn, Major Sir Roderick Otway, Brt. M. C., R. F. A., brings his friend Foe over the river to a Progressive meeting in support of Farrell of Tottenham Court Road, who is running for the London County Council. At that meeting Farrell, to the consternation of Sir Otway, launches an attack on the research work by the publicly endowed university college and declares loudly that, under the guidance of a certain professor, dumb animals are "vivisected alive." "It's a lie," Foe shouts at the speaker. The two men glare at each other but before Mr. Farrell's friends and associates can massacre the professor a hasty exit is manœuvred, and nothing more happens until Mr. Farrell writes a letter to all the papers renewing his insinuations, while a mob of his followers take it on themselves to storm the laboratory and destroy every scrap of John Foe's precious data. The misfortune stuns Foe. After a few days, however, he comes to a conclusion—to hound Farrell with his vengeance to the ends of the earth, at any cost to himself. The rest of the narrative is the narrative of this fine persecution.

The persecution is carried on for years. If Mr. Farrell goes out for a walk, near Biarritz, Mr. Foe emerges from a deserted building and says, "fee-foe-fum," or words to that effect. If Mr. Farrell sits down to order dinner in New York (he is staying, as Q innocently remarks, at a hotel "at the fashionable end of Third avenue"), Mr. Foe pops into the seat opposite him. "Science has her altars, and her priests. I was one, serving an altar which you defiled. And by God, Peter Farrell, upholsterer, the priest will pursue." That is the motto. In the end, Peter gives John the slip. He gets away to Costa Rica and then to Peru. Twelve months later a small steamer drops anchor in the roadstead. A solitary passenger is landed. Farrell, looking through his binoculars, knows who it is. He leaves his new wife without telling her why, "pelts up the path in the old sweating terror, making up the mountain as if driven, to call on it to cover him." But he returns. "When I ran Farrell to earth there," as Foe afterwards says, "after he'd given me the slip for close on twelve months, this woman had married him and almost made a new man of him. In another month or so I don't doubt she'd have converted him into man enough to tell her all the truth, and let her deliver him. As it was, he passed me off for his friend—the ass! I shipped with them, and we worked down the coast, by fruit-ship and sloop, to Valparaiso, intending for Sydney. Now at this point I might easily make myself out a calculating villain. Farrell was enamored to feebleness and to make love to his Santa was an opportunity cast into my lap by the gods. But actually, before I could even meditate this simple villainy, I had fallen in love with her because I couldn't help it."

By "love," of course, the author does not mean that violent and reprehensible passion which leads Moors to jealousy and Latins to violence. He means a nobler feeling that only gentlemen feel. When the Eurotas goes down in 36, south latitude, longitude 105½ west, there is a chance for Farrell and Foe and Santa to be cast away together. Sure enough, this happens. The description of the long voyage in open boats, with its trials and hardships, its mutinies and madnesses, is the best thing in the book. The death of Santa is beautifully devised to affect the willing reader. Foe and Farrell alone survive, cast away on an ultimate island, and Q makes the most of this literary opportunity to convey the beauty of a virgin isle, the joy of rescue, the grimness of the two men's hatred. The first sign of a deep change in Farrell and Foe is indicated, however, by the behavior of the castaway dog that greets them on the island. The dog snarls at Foe and is friendly to Farrell. Is Foe beginning to degenerate? When the upholsterer sickens the professor nurses him back to health—no degeneracy in that—but when a chance of escape comes Foe seizes it by himself, deserting the convalescent. This is the beginning of the end.

With a wide literary experience to help him, Q carries on to a murderous climax, the Farrell in Foe coming to the top while the Foe in Farrell is triumphing. "And," as Sir Roddy says, "if you have any use for it you may apply it to this blasted War. As I see it, the more you beat Fritz by becoming like him, the more he has won. . . . You have demeaned yourself to him; you cannot shake him off, for his claws hook in you, and through the farther gate of Judgment you ride on inseparables condemned."

It is an absurd story. Only a practised writer could have told it so well, with so little fatuity. Its motive is utterly feeble and its handling is snobbish, but the narrator invents the man-hunt so capably and carries it out in such lively detail that one is ready to read to the end. The moral of the story, that love is most to the lover and hating most to the hater, is an impeccable moral, so long as the National Security League does not question it. But the author had better watch his Ps and Qs.

F. H.

President Wilson

Le Président Wilson, par Daniel Halévy. Paris: Payot et Cie. Four francs fifty.

THERE is at least one form of literature in which French achievement is, beyond all others, supreme. The mastery of critical analysis displayed by such men as Sainte-Beuve and Faguet and Brunetière is unrivalled either in Anglo-American or German literature. Nor is there any trait which lends distinction to the art which the critics do not seem to have made their own. The quotation, the epigram, the genial irony which admires even while it castigates—by these, above all, is their work

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distinguished. M. Halévy's tour de force belongs essentially to this class of work. Like all similar efforts of the kind, his analysis is a little too logical to be true. The selection of characteristics for portrayal inevitably obscures many of those subtler nuances which it is perhaps given only to the great painter to reveal. But within the limits of a volume inevitably destined for no more than an immediate interpretation of Mr. Wilson to the people of France, he has produced what is little less, in its way, than a masterpiece. Americans, indeed, have been singularly fortunate in the foreigners who have surveyed their institutions. Tocqueville and Boutmy and Lord Bryce represent a triad which an Englishman may well envy. M. Halévy's volume makes one eagerly hope that he will devote the sober sagacity and wise insight this volume displays to a survey of American problems.

M. Halévy does not attempt to make Mr. Wilson a simple man. He does not see in him a few definite ideas of which the last eight years have been the relentlessly logical application. On the contrary he emphasizes his belief in the pragmatic character of the President's thinking. He has chosen rather to grapple with the problems as they have happened to arise than to make other issues about which he might well have cared more deeply. M. Halévy seems impressed by the conception Mr. Wilson has had of his office. Clearly he has made the Presidency a far more positive institution than at any time in the past half-century; and to M. Halévy that effort seems to redress a balance that had too long been wanting. He writes with deep admiration of the fight Mr. Wilson has made against the sinister interests of America; and his comment upon the possible consequences of the federal reserve system is noteworthy. Indeed, one may go even further and suggest that therein lies the possible outline of a new and suggestive federal system. M. Halévy believes that the famous attack upon the "lobby" of Congress in 1913 is one of the great steps in the freeing of American politics from the pressure of finance. He writes admiringly —with significant French experience before his mind— of the determination to allow each cabinet officer to select his own appointees. Throughout his domestic policy Mr. Wilson seems to this acute observer unremittingly to have used his great opportunities for good. It is an interesting judgment. The things about which one who is nearer at hand may well hesitate ought, indeed, to weigh down the scale—above all the failure to deal with the problem of the civil service; but no one who remembers the tariff of 1913, the rural credits, the federal reserve, child labor, the Adamson law and, beyond all, the appointment of Mr. Brandeis to the Supreme Court, can doubt that, whatever Mr. Wilson's failures, there is a very solid success by which he must be judged.

The larger part of M. Halévy's book is naturally devoted to the President's foreign policy and the line taken by his analysis is significant. If Europe was astonished by the war, he says in substance, how much more is that the case with the United States. He pictures a statesman confronted by two problems—the shortening of an alien conflict abroad, and the preservation of peace for America itself. He insists on the impossibility of Mr. Wilson's regarding the issue as one between simple right and simple wrong. He urges the difficulties involved in the Irish-American situation, the special German problem, the traditional American isolation. He draws a vivid picture of the way in which the war came gradually home to the American mind. He rightly emphasizes the slow growth of Mr. Wilson's determination to make war as itself the final count in the moral indictment of the German government. He lays stress upon the consistent idealism of his public professions and his public diplomacy. The adjective is significant; for Mr. Wilson is, in simple fact, the first statesman who has manufactured a foreign policy in the full light of day. When the last word as to men and ships and munitions is said, that is the essential contribution made by America to the new international faith that is being forged with such travail and such pain. The League of Nations is, as M. Halévy says, its essential concomitant. But the fundamental thing is the openness of mind and heart, the refusal to entertain reserves. It opens a new epoch in the history of institutions. It renews one's faith in the possibilities of democratic government.

M. Halévy does not entertain any lofty idea of Mr. Wilson's literary achievement, and therein there can be but little doubt that he is right. The President rarely writes without eloquence, and some of his state-papers will take their place in the archives of the world. His style is always clear and terse and vigorous; but he lacks the fullness of mind of those who, like Burke and Bagehot, have been his masters. The eminent readability of his American history does not conceal the fact that it is still the work of a gifted amateur. The book on the state is a skillful college textbook; but it does not display either erudition or profundity. His Constitutional Government in the United States is the brilliant talk of an able man of the world. Yet I think M. Halévy rates the Congressional Government too low. Admittedly, it has not the body or depth of Bagehot's masterpiece nor the universality of Burke's political disquisitions. But it is worth while insisting that no commentary has done that same task half so well. Of books just below the very best—Low's Governance of England, the incisive commentary of Mr. Boutmy—it is at least the compeer. Nor is it perhaps safe as yet to predict Mr. Wilson's literary position. The fascinating possibility of an autobiography, the hope that the Congressional Government may have a successor ripened by the experience of a unique presidential tenure, must both loom ahead to tickle the palate of every epicure in political speculation. And those are dreams that many of us must regard as little less than moral necessities.

Of Mr. Wilson's personality M. Halévy says directly but little. He yet leaves a vivid impression of the portrait that has been forming in his mind. It is of a man who has consistently grown. It is of a man whose nature makes intellectual companionship difficult and opposition only the more determined. He does not charge Mr. Wilson with consistency—perhaps the most painful of the virtues. He seems to give him credit for a very American combination of intense idealism on the one hand and intense practicality on the other. It was an idealist who made the famous speech on the league of nations; it was a shrewd campaigner who sent the famous telegram to Jeremiah O'Leary. And despite M. Halévy's efforts at simplicity what, in the end, emerges, is essentially a complex and baffling nature. That is perhaps as it should be. No man who is simple can be a great President of the United States. He is the ruler of a continent. He is the synthesis of so many varying strands of ideas and dreams as almost to bewilder himself in the attempt at their disentanglement. If Washington's nature was simple, there was at least Hamilton behind; and a library will be written before that problem is solved. Yet the student of history will be grateful since it is the resolution of the complex into the intelligible that provides the material for his philosophy.

H. J. L.

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Any Feminist to Any State

Women and the Sovereign State, by A. Maude Royden. London: Headley Bros., Ltd. 2s.

SINCE militancy passed on in England we have waited with expectancy for the next incarnation of feminist striving among the Island women. One dared to hope that the goal might now move up one step nearer reality than the beloved franchise itself. One longed for the Anglo-Saxon feminist who would at last boldly attack the sex problem in the open. These hopes are now fulfilled by the highly satisfying volume in the New Commonwealth series by A. Maude Royden. The author, it is interesting to know, has recently been appointed assistant pastor at the City Temple in London. That a self-confessed feminist should be given such an influential station is in itself evidence of amazing changes in social control in the country which gave to the world Puritanism and Queen Victoria. It is just as well, perhaps, that the late queen never lived to see some of the things that are now going on in her decent and well ordered realm.

In manner as in substance, Miss Royden's book is a grateful experience. The tonic irony with which it is pervaded is a far more wholesome flavor than the conciliatory accents which the spokeswomen of the exploited sex usually feel compelled to employ. Miss Royden is an honest woman and has written a rarely honest book. She does not bow down before assumptions or shut her eyes to obvious conclusions simply because the truth would be incriminating. Her arraignment of prostitution and her defence of the prostitute are magnificently logical. Concerning venereal disease she calls attention to a point which has long cried out in vain for emphasis. Even the best of our social hygiene teachers still talk as if venereal disease were spontaneously generated by the prostitute and then passed on as a contagion to her victim. The obvious fact that every diseased prostitute must first have been infected by some man has gone almost entirely without comment. "Syphilis and gonorrhoea are the industrial diseases of prostitution," says Miss Royden, "but they do not fall within the Employers' Liability Act. On the contrary, it is continually urged that when one of her employers has infected a prostitute, she should be punished for it." This point of view has been accepted generally by women, so that they too regard the prostitute as solely responsible for venereal disease. If a husband infects his wife, it is the prostitute who is responsible and who should be punished with the utmost savagery. "He, it is held, could not help going to the prostitute; but she, if she was infected, should rather have died of starvation than risk infecting him." On a par with this extraordinary attitude is that other which always accompanies it—the infamous acceptance by "good women" of the idea standardized by Lecky, that prostitutes are a protection to their virtuous sisters. "Otherwise honorable women," continues Miss Royden, "have been able to regard the prostitute as their one protection from outrage and spit upon her at the same moment." At least it is a comforting thought that there is one group of women in the world—those of the City Temple congregation in London—who will be given a chance to do some clear thinking on the sex question. Certainly the young women who are to be shepherded by Maude Royden will not remain long in the state of moral cannibalism which permits a woman to believe that her "honor" must be protected at the price of another's dishonor.

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FIFTH AVENUE AND 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

Miss Royden has packed a great deal into this small volume. Incidentally, nearly all the representative woman-haters from the Church Fathers down to Lord Kitchener receive at least unfavorable mention. Though primarily occupied with the sex question, she has devoted one chapter to social, economic and political discriminations. The relation of the state to women as individuals she shows to be full of glaring inconsistencies. Women are indispensable and this fact constantly clashes with the subordinate status and specialized function decreed for them by the state. "The duties of woman are the bearing of children and the satisfaction of man's sexual desires. . . . That she should require to eat and work is outside our conception of her, which is one of sex only." But being both indispensable and hungry, she has contrived to gain some sporadic and limited rights as a human being. Under the law, she is sometimes a *person,* sometimes not—an "intermittent person," as it were. "Believing herself to be a person she may seek to vote, only to find that she is not. Discovering this she may abstain from paying her taxes, only to find herself distrained upon." In industry, she meets the same capricious treatment. For three years England has been urging women to "release men for the front," with the wide-spread understanding that they will be expected to give up their jobs when the war is over. Though the claim of the man to his former job is undeniable, says Miss Royden, it is futile to dream of settling the whole problem by the simple method of complacently ignoring the claim of the woman. In the matter of wages, the same arbitrary inconsistency confronts her. The trade unionist sits on the Wages Board and officially decrees her a smaller "living wage" than the man's on the ground that hers is

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a wage for one and his is a wage for several. But if she goes into the market and undercuts him there, the unionist cannot find language strong enough to condemn her action. The supreme irony, however, is reserved for the realm of sex relationships and functions. An old maid is an object of ridicule, but so is a pregnant woman. Motherhood is lauded to the skies and is referred to in the same breath as a "handicap." In nearly all Christian states the health of the buyer is believed to make prostitution necessary. Yet for her supposed red cross service in preventing neuroses among the male population, the prostitute is rewarded with stripes and a prison sentence. The first tiny breach in the perfection of this hideous ineptitude has been made by the government of this country which has recently issued an official statement to the men in arms that "continence is consistent with health and is the best preventive of venereal disease." Apparently the credit for this precedent belongs to America alone, for one searches Miss Royden's pages in vain for any evidence that a similar step has been taken by the English government.

The crumb of comfort which Miss Royden offers for the barbarities of sex exploitation is that they result from ignorance rather than inherent cruelty and injustice, that if knowledge of life and a trained mind are brought to bear upon them, there is still hope of civilizing sex. She further emphasizes the fact that the degraded status of the legally married woman was intended to insure purity of succession. Property is the state's first regard and masculine civilization is based on the sanctity of possessions. But already the fetish of property is beginning to crumble, and women, who have shed their blood in the production of life and not in the defense of property, will surely not help to reconstruct the fetish. Miss Royden clearly feels that women have won a new power besides the franchise in recent years, no less significant because it is seldom mentioned. "Women are more able to command here than once they were," she writes, "for the knowledge of means to control the birth-rate has spread with extraordinary rapidity. It is probable that this fact may exercise an influence undreamed of yet on the position of women in the state and on the attitude of the state towards her. In the future she may be treated as the responsible being that knowledge is making her; in the past, she has been a more or less passive instrument for the production of citizens." In other words, the absolute state will not be tolerated by the women of the future who consciously hold the key to the national birth-rate.

KATHARINE ANTHONY.

Recent Publications

The American Labor Year Book, 1917-1918. New York: The Rand School of Social Science. 60 cents.

THE second year book of the Rand School is a notable advance over the first. In both the quantity and the quality of its matter there are creditable gains which make of the present volume a source book of considerable value. The space which is devoted to the trade union movement and to the more general economic problems of the day is in refreshing contrast to conventional socialist compilations which centre largely on the technical "radical" movement and philosophy. The war has helped to bring this shift of emphasis. It has helped to show American socialists that the trade union movement stands in American public opinion as the real working class movement. And to this extent the war has helped to quicken the interest of socialists in trade union achievements and method. For this reason the contrast which the year book reveals between the trade union and the socialist attitude toward the war is the more glaring. The famous—or notorious—St. Louis resolution of the Socialist Party, which is reprinted in full on page 50, is at the opposite pole of opinion from the war declarations of the American Federation of Labor which precede it by a few pages. In another ten years the present volume may well acquire a real antiquarian value by virtue of its inclusion of these two contrasted documents alone. It is, of course, idle to quarrel with the title of the American Labor Year Book. But after all, the volume has not quite the representative character which makes that title accurate. Read in conjunction with the last annual report of the American Federation of Labor, for example, the present year book inevitably seems somewhat parochial in its conception. It is not necessary to subscribe to all the views of the Federation to realize that its record of events is as truly reflective of American labor's point of view as the Rand School's year book. Indeed it is probably a far more accurate reflection. In consequence one of two alternatives might eventually be practical. The Rand School might modify the title of its annual; or it might include more of the material which makes the Federation's reports at present more invaluable than the Labor Year Book.

Professor Latimer's Progress. Anonymous. New York: Henry Holt Co. $1.40.

WE all have "war nerves" to some degree and so for all of us Professor Latimer's adventures may be curative. But Professor Latimer's was an acute case and the dose was strong. "Every campaign in the three continents and on and under the seas had been fought simultaneously in Latimer. . . . He woke nights lest Russia conclude a separate peace. He hurt his digestion by thinking suddenly of Bethmann-Hollweg." So he went on a walking-trip up-state, and there, lucky man, he met a most remarkable collection of characters, all the way from an adventurous guinea-pig to a retired, but still agile-minded managing editor, and consequently he had adventures. They were varied and exhilarating, physically as well as mentally, ranging from acting in the movies to choking a villain on the public highway. But after a time you become suspicious of them. You follow the professor about his up-state roads and soon you have the sense of having recently renewed your acquaintance with a surprising number of stock modern characters. The motion picture actress, her producer, articulate only when producing, the female factory inspector, socialist, and Independent Woman, the disillusioned newspaper man, the corporation chief who is building a model town for his employees, the doctor-specialist with his mixture of science and humanity —even a pacifist, not to mention others are all there wandering about those hill roads very conveniently. And so you have misgivings. It is all very fine and its effects on you and Latimer may be equally healing. But if you were a choleric professor, aged sixty-two, and went walking in northern New York, what would you meet? Your guinea-pig would probably be a squawking, scatter-brain hen who would refuse to be lectured on barbed wire and modern warfare. The farmhouses at which you stopped would be inhabited by down-at-the-heel, sad-eyed women who had never been beyond Westville. And the nearest you would

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By Harrison Otis

WHO should walk into the room but Howard Lindsay! Of all men perhaps the last I had expected to find as the president of this great new company. They had told me that Mr. Lindsay, of the Consolidated, was looking for a fine country home and was interested in buying the Dollard Place in Englewood; so as executor of the Dollard estate, I had come to discuss the terms with him.

But Lindsay! Surely some miracle had happened. For it was the very man who had come to me "dead broke" about four years back and had asked me to help him get a new job. But how he had changed! The man I remembered was down at the heel, and timid and ill-kept. The man now facing me was keen-eyed, alert, confident and well groomed.

"You are surprised, Mr. Otis, I can see that without your telling me. I *was* a pretty sorry object the last time we met—and you may be sure I have not forgotten the good turn you did me when I needed it so badly.

"Let that real estate matter rest for a moment while I tell you how the miracle happened. It won't take five minutes. It all seems simple as A B C as I look back on it now. And come to think of it, it *was* simple and perfectly natural.

How It All Began

"My new life began when I discovered *how to save money.* That happened soon after I started in the new job you helped me secure. And it all came about right in my own home. Our family cash account was in terrible shape at that time. Both my wife and I had been used to luxuries at home and 'charge it to Dad' had been our easy way out of any money problem.

"But it was different now and our sole source of supply was my salary of $3,000. We never went to the theatre that we didn't have the uncomfortable feeling that we were using money that ought to go for coal or clothes or food. We seldom bought anything without feeling as though we were cheating ourselves out of something else.

"That year we didn't save one cent. Besides that, we woke up on New Year's day to find a big bunch of unpaid bills to be taken care of somehow or other out of future salary checks.

"When I asked myself the reason for all this I found that I did not *know* the reason, and no more did my wife, because we hadn't the faintest idea what our money had been spent for.

"Then I looked around among our friends and learned a great lesson.

"The Weeds, I knew, were getting more than $5,000 a year. They lived in a modest apartment, did not wear fine clothes, seldom went to the theatre, did little entertaining, yet we knew they barely had enough money to pay current bills. They found it out of the question to save any money and found themselves, so Weed told me, in the same predicament that we had faced on New Year's Day.

"In the case of the Wells I found a very different story and one that set me thinking hard. Their income was $2,000 a year, yet, to my amazement, they confided to us that they had saved $600 a year ever since they were married. They didn't have any grand opera in their program—except on their little Victrola—but they did go to the theatre regularly, they wore good clothes, entertained their friends at their home and were about the happiest and most contented couple of all our married friends.

Our Great Discovery

"Then I discovered the *magic secret.* The Weeds never knew whether they could afford to make a given expenditure or not. Theirs, like ours, was a sloppy, happy-go-lucky existence with the happiness cut out because they were always worried about money matters. They kept no accounts and just trusted to luck—and so had *bad* luck all the time.

"The Wells, on the other hand, were getting more real enjoyment out of life than people with double their income—simply because they *knew what they could afford to spend.*

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"We sat down that evening and made up a budget of *all* our expenses for the next fifty-two weeks. We discovered leaks galore. We found a hundred ways where little amounts could be saved.

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"When you consider what my income is now, all that I have told you seems funny, doesn't it? I can write my check in six figures today, and my new salary here is $25,000 a year. But I am still working on the same plan that I used to keep track of that original $3,000. Result, I know just what I can subscribe to Liberty Bonds and the Red Cross and all the other war funds, and I never have to wonder whether I can afford to have a new motor car, because my budget tells me—to a penny.

"It all began when we got a grip on our family expenses.

"So there you are. It is wonderful, isn't it? I often wish I might tell my story to the thousands of young married couples who are having the hardest time of their lives just when they ought to be having the best time.

"If you ever get a chance, do pass this message on, for there are thousands who don't know what the trouble is, who would give everything to know 'the secret of the fat bank balance.'"

So now I have the opportunity and you are lucky, if only you will act on the wonderful message this story contains.

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come to the movies would be to view the posters of Wild West dramas outside the village theatre. In the light of your common sense, then, Professor Latimer becomes a fantastic character. Yet the story is a pleasant one, pleasantly told, and the very fact that Professor Latimer is a fantastic old person makes him, in spite of his tendency to point morals, a charming companion for a jaunt about country roads.

Rekindled Fires, by Joseph Anthony. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

THE worthy idea of Bohemian immigrants ponderously groping for material freedom and genial democracy caused Mr. Anthony to write this novel. And so, like all conscious propagandists using the indirect method of fiction as a pretext, he makes his people voluble marionettes with Democracy tugging the strings. The aim is lofty: the achievement unconvincing. Propaganda and art are quarrelsome bedfellows, unless the writer is a purely unconscious sermonizer. If he unsparingly draws the shallows and cloudy patches in his characters as well as their hidden strength, his portrayal of their better side gains through the plausibility of contrast, and the social-idealist may extract definite cheer from the novel. But Mr. Anthony's roughly benevolent Bohemian immigrants are far too perfect. Clumsiness of mind and credulity are the only faults he assigns them. Even the village-capitalist, John Kuss, cigar manufacturer, becomes a blithely indulgent friend of his workingmen, encouraging their efforts at unionism. Their leader, Michael Zabransky, keeper of a small store, is drawn as a boisterous, crudely righteous Don Quixote whose flame is transferred to his younger son, Stanislav.

The story concerns this Stanislav who leaves high school for rough labor in the village cigar manufactory. There he becomes secretary of the cigar maker's union, because of the hearty respect his Bohemian comrades have for his ability to read and write oratorical English. At this point a sentimental tint is thrown in. The odious German residents of the village strive to oust the high-school principal because they suspect him of favoritism toward their Bohemian neighbors. Stanislav, after many humorous adventures with the village board of education, saves the position of his teacher friend. Eventually he leads the men of his factory on a strike which winds up with the benevolent factory owner presenting him with a donation of one hundred and eight dollars from the men, for his college education. The story ends by his accepting a position as instructor in philosophy and triumphing over his father who wanted him to enter politics.

A mechanical, unreal novel written by an earnest man guided by excellent ideals.

Contributors

to this Issue

I. L. KANDEL—A member of the staff of the Carnegie Foundation. Associate in Education at the Teachers College at Columbia. Graduate of the University of Manchester and of Columbia.

BENJAMIN GINZBURG—A third year student in the School of Journalism at Columbia University.

DR. WILLIAM R. P. EMERSON—A Boston physician.

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT—A graduate of Bryn Mawr College. Author of French Perspectives. Has been in France for several months and is contributing a series of articles to the New Republic.

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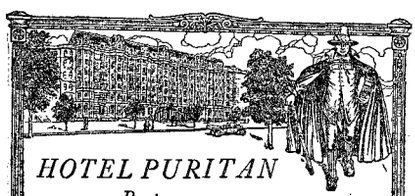

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